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SUBJECT: CIRM
OO: NEW YORK

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Enclosed for the Bureau are five and for New York one copy of a LHM.

The source referred to is [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because data reported from these Informants could reasonably result in the identification of Confidential Informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

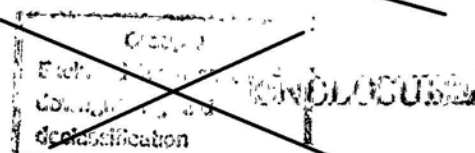
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File No.

Butte, Montana, 59701
November 13, 1967

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on November 11, 1967, made available the following document:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



By Claude Lightfoot,
Secretary of the National Committee for Negro Affairs

Subject: TO SAVE AMERICA, THESE THINGS ARE REQUIRED:

It has been historical, as well as current experience that a coalescence of struggle of black and white at the grass roots level is the main prerequisite for social advances in our country. Yet, at a time when the nation faces unprecedented problems such as war and peace, the growth of a fascist danger and new economic difficulties, to many people, black and white unity has become a dirty word. Germs of disunity, germs of a cancerous nature, are circulating in the body of the American people, and unless radical surgery is performed, many of the vital organs will be lost, if not the entire body. Patent medicines no longer suffice to meet this growing crisis.

To help unravel the reasons for this situation, we shall discuss the character of the present period, look into what is new in racism, define the nature of the present wave of black nationalism, discuss methods of struggle required for today, estimate the Party's position on the Negro question in the last nine years. And finally, we shall determine what the vanguard role of the Party is in the circumstances of today.

The Negro question cannot be abstracted from the general political situation within the country. The Proctor article estimates what the general situation in the black community will be for the next 10 or 15 years, but in my judgment it does so in isolation from the perspective for the country as a whole for the next 10 to 15 years. Proctor writes:

In the next decade all indications are that black national consciousness, black nationalism will undergo an explosive growth within the United States. Negro migration to the cities, the cities' growing deterioration, the failure of society, including the trade unions, to fully integrate Negroes, the worsening economic conditions of the Negroes and their growing relation with colored people on a world scale will help to feed black nationalist tendencies and growth.

Now, Proctor does not say whether this black nationalism that he speaks of will be a form of nationalism directed against imperialism, that is, of a positive nature, or whether it will be of a divisive separatist nature such as is embodied in the policies and program of Elijah Muhammad. While he does not indicate what direction it will take, he presents a catalog of the conditions which will promote this national consciousness over the next decade. I conclude, therefore, that he anticipates that over the next 10 or 15 years the problems of worsening conditions of Negroes, including the refusal of the trade unions to integrate, deterioration in the cities, migration to the big cities, etc., will continue to mount. In other words, things will get worse. And if they do, the trend of black nationalism will be toward a more reactionary character.

The development of black nationalism in one direction or another is not a thing in itself; it is a reaction to the general political situation in the country at large. Hence, in order not to err in our judgments about the Negro question, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the general trends in the country.

We are at one of those great crossroads in history where mankind will either advance toward a high plateau of social progress, eliminating all that is vile, reprehensible, dehumanizing and exploitative, or toward the destruction of man's existence on this planet. Which way is yet to be determined.

We Communists are not passive observers on the social scene. We are, or aspire to be, social and political scientists. And in this connection we always seek ways and means of channelizing events in a progressive direction. We examine things as they are at a given moment. We seek out the obstacles which interrupt the smooth flow of progress. We work to uncover the contradictions whose resolution will permit a flow of developments in a given direction.

The existence of many contradictions in the nature of things at present accelerates a growth of frustrations, a groping for new directional signals and, in some instances, hopelessness and despair. We shall proceed to examine some of these contradictions.

The present moment can be characterized as one charged with great economic, political and social turbulence. Unlike the decade of the fifties, the mid-point of the 1960s is marked by ever-increasing waves of struggle by almost all strata of the American people. Yesterday it was mainly the Negro movement that protested injustice. Today the youth, the church, labor and the intelligentsia, in varying degrees, have taken the path of struggle. These forces are converging on the war policies of the Johnson Administration and are creating a deep-going crisis in foreign affairs. The peace movement in our country is perhaps the greatest in history. Seldom has a people challenged its government's pursuance of war with the vigor and determination now manifested by the American people.

The growth of automation and cybernation places the economy in a precarious position and leads workers to the path of struggle to a degree not witnessed in recent years. Strikes are breaking out in all directions. They involve all categories of workers, the more affluent and the less affluent.

As we near the year's end, there have been at least 150 outbreaks of violence in more than 120 cities. Over \$270 million in property has been destroyed. It is estimated that 118 people have been killed and nearly 4,000 injured. Roughly 4,000 have been arrested, and National Guardsmen have been called out 23 times.

This is the balance sheet, and the end is nowhere in sight. Indeed, there are those who now see "the long hot summers" extended into "the long cold winters." Especially is this shown by the crime rates. These, a barometer of the sick society and its social turbulence, have reached fantastic proportions.

The FBI announced on September 15 that crime in the United States had risen 17 per cent during the past year and predicted that by the year's end the increase in all types of crime would total 62 per cent over the last six years. Vandalism is on the increase. In 1966 the cost of vandalism in New York schools totaled \$5 million. In Washington, D.C., window breakage and theft in schools last year cost more than \$214,000.

In every aspect of American life there is an unprecedented degree of dissatisfaction. The people are striking back. Sometimes they strike according to plan. Sometimes they erupt spontaneously. And sometimes they hit out blindly. But whatever the form they take, these are all struggles by the people against a system that hurts so many of them.

Basically, this growing strife arises from a capitalist system in decay. But in particular it is an outgrowth of a war policy. Our government, committed for the last twenty years to a program designed to save the collapsing system of colonialism and imperialism in general, and to promote the domination of U.S. capitalism and imperialism in particular, has brought us to this situation on the home front. A lopsided war budget with its huge expenditures for military hardware, with its dollars for the CIA to bribe and corrupt, leaves little to combat growing problems of poverty, technological displacement of workers and deterioration within the ghettos and cities, to replace obsolete housing, and to create a higher quality of education. These problems, moreover, are greatly aggravated by the new technological and scientific advance in production.

As a consequence of this development, new relations between workers and business, new measures by the state for the welfare of the workers must be evolved. The slowness of such changes is producing great hardships and insecurity for all strata of the American working people.

With the growth of struggle by various sectors of the American people, with the continuing expansion of objective circumstances that induce an enlargement of struggles, one would expect that the pro-democratic masses would be assuming commanding heights; one would think that the future would appear hopeful and that few would become engulfed in despair.

Professor Seymour Melman performed a historic task when, in his work, Our Depleted Society (Holt, New York, 1965), he laid bare all the contradictions within a war economy and hopefully looked to the future. He wrote:

I expect that diverse groups in American life will discover common ground as they each seek ways to improve their own lot. Americans who suffer directly from the depletion process, or whose prospects for a really better life are held up by the depleted society - all these will be acting in parallel, even in concert, to accelerate the reconstruction of American life.

The various components of the pro-democratic forces in the country are in large part already in the arena of struggle. In some instances they act in a parallel manner; in others, they tend to merge (as witness the merging of efforts by the peace and civil rights forces). And yet, at this moment, there are growing clashes and cleavages between forces who have so much in common. The growing strife between the forces who should and must unite if "we are to overcome" is the most challenging problem facing the people's movements. It is the most important problem before this conference.

What are the factors engendering disunity?

Objective circumstances increasingly are compelling all pro-democratic masses into the arena of struggle. But consciousness of the interrelation of these struggles, of how they impinge on each other, and of what must be done to effect greater correlation, lags dangerously behind.

Thus, the main weaknesses lie in the realm of ideas, concepts and ideology. And it is in this area that a widespread counteroffensive by reactionary elements has come into prominence.

The forms that this offensive takes are many, but the decisive weapon is still racist ideology. But just to repeat "racism" would be meaningless. We must examine the new circumstances in which this poison is being spread. We must uncover the new objective and subjective bases that are the springboard for its renewed growth.

Historically, racism has been the main ideological weapon which our ruling class has used to divide the ranks of the working people. About its harmful effects, Gus Hall wrote:

Bigotry is like a poison gas deliberately designed to incapacitate all opposition. Like such a gas it distorts reality and brings on a state of confusion. A friend appears as an enemy, an enemy as a friend.

As Hall indicated, in those circumstances confusion reigns supreme, and, as Gil Green once wrote, the real enemy - big business - becomes "the enemy forgotten."

The seeds of current trends of disunity have been assiduously planted in the past several years. That the enemy is working overtime is very evident.

We witnessed two parallel developments in 1964 which helped to heighten tensions among the people. One was the forays of George C. Wallace from Alabama into the Northern communities. Now, it is clear that Wallace could not win any election, could not win the nomination, could not make any significant campaign. The main reason Wallace came into the North in the 1964 elections was to make an appeal to prejudice among white workers, and wherever he went, whether it was Gary, Baltimore or other cities, this was the main pitch. And in some respects it paid off. The large number of white workers who supported this avowed racist was cause for great concern.

The over-all strategy called for the organization of a so-called "white backlash." This idea made its appearance in the 1964 elections on the eve of the greatest coalescence of pro-democratic forces in the history of our country, aimed at the defeat of Goldwater, with labor, the liberal community, the middle strata, the farmers and the Negro people uniting politically as never before. This was one prong of the effort

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to use the weapon of white supremacy, of prejudice, of fear and insecurity, to mobilize white workers to throw the ranks of black and white into further disarray.

The second development in 1964 was the refusal to seat the delegation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention. The insistence of President Johnson, and of outstanding labor and liberal spokesmen, on forcing the Freedom Democratic Party to accept a compromise with the Dixiecrat South, proved to be one of the most harmful actions in recent years. This laid the basis for the serious division in the labor-liberal-Negro coalition that followed 1964.

James Forman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was correct in calling it a "profile in treachery." For a new factor had now emerged, though it was not too easily discernible at that moment. That is, the ideological assault now came not only from ultra-Right forces such as Wallace and his supporters, but also, simultaneously, from leaders of the liberal and labor coalition who moved in for the purpose of checkmating the further acceleration of the Negro people's movement. The joining together of these two currents laid the seeds of accelerated tendencies of disunity among the people.

What is the background of these developments? Why did Walter Reuther, Humphrey and others who had distinguished themselves as great liberals, as friends of the Negro people, as staunch civil rights fighters, act as they did at Atlantic City? Comrade Henry Winston points out that their previous position was rooted in the 1954 Supreme Court decision. That decision, he says, was a class decision. U.S. imperialism was prepared at that moment to make some concessions to the Negro movement for two purposes: (1) to try to overcome the racist image the U.S. had won for itself as a result of oppression of the Negro people; and (2) to mobilize the Negro people's movement for the war effort.

Beginning at Atlantic City and afterward, however, the gears shifted and the demands of the Negro people's movement went into motion for more fundamental changes not mere palliatives and superficial reforms. Power was placed on the agenda. The economic aspect of the question was brought to the forefront, and demands were placed that go to the heart of reversing the war policies of U.S. imperialism, and with this, of removing many of the domestic camouflages. This was the hard political reality underlying a situation which now began to work in reverse.

Consequently, if we make an assessment of racist ideology in the U.S. today, we have to take into account the fact that there is at the present time no section of the ruling class that is working for the limited goals and limited purposes of some years ago. Today, most of the so-called liberal community joins with the ultra-Right for the purpose of defeating the efforts of the Black People's Movement for radical and deep-going changes in their status.

A good example of this change is the way in which the police power of the State is employed. Several years ago the police power of the federal government was used to back civil rights efforts in the South. Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy were compelled by an outraged nation to send troops to the South. Today, however, the police forces in many cities allegedly ruled by liberals not only are used against the Negro people but are in fact the main forces provoking violence and disorder. And in every instance, beginning with the situation in New York City under the liberal Mayor Wagner, the police force has been absolved. Furthermore, the police power of the federal government backs up the racist attacks against Negroes and blames the victims. And President Johnson makes appeals which can only lead white people, on the citizen level, to take up arms against black people.

The main problem is not that the ruling circles are using racist ideology. There is nothing new in this. What is important is that there is an insufficient response among whites, a failure to act at the grass roots level. Hence it is not enough for progressives and radicals to explain the source of racism. Most people of good will understand that. What is most important is to discover how and why this poison can operate so easily among the masses. And when this is understood, maybe we can "overcome." For no matter in how racist a fashion the ruling class behaves, if there is no acceptance of racism among the masses, this behavior will be of little consequence.

In addition to the betrayal by certain labor and liberal forces in the country, there is a material basis for the growth of chauvinist attitudes among workers. Racist ideology finds a fertile ground in two significant areas of daily life, first in the job

problems flowing not only from a war economy but also from scientific and technological changes, and second in the area of housing.

The growth of job displacement and unemployment by automation in industry has created new problems for the American workers. With no clear solution in view, the working class lives in constant fear of what tomorrow will bring. Thus, the problem of job insecurity tend by itself to become a driving force for tensions among workers, rather than to lead them to approach it as a class problem, as a problem of all workers -- the more affluent, the less affluent, black and white. There are strong tendencies among white workers to seek solutions at the expense of their black brothers. This adds to the problems of the black brother, who is already bearing the brunt of the problem. It takes the form of greater unemployment, underemployment and other dehumanizing conditions. These are ongoing problems which daily get worse, not better.

Indicative of this trend are the findings of a recent Labor Department survey covering over twenty black ghettos. It notes the following:

16.9 per cent of those employed were working only part time, though trying to find a full-time job. The comparable national figure is 2.3 per cent. 21 per cent of the full-time workers earn less than \$60.00 a week, the equivalent of the \$3,000 annual poverty line. The national figure is 15.4 per cent. 37 per cent of the slum families reported annual incomes under \$3,000 compared with 25 per cent nationally. The average family income was about \$3,800 compared with the national average of \$6,300. ... 47 per cent of the families reported income from unemployment insurance, welfare and other non-employment sources.

This survey shows why Black America is increasingly becoming alienated from White America.

One of the problems automation poses is the necessity for workers to improve their skills. But in this connection certain unions stand out as the main obstacles to Negroes acquiring skill. Historically, the building trades unions have been one of the main barriers. Today, no less than yesterday, these unions emerge as the greatest scabs in the labor movement, the main source of friction between black and white workers. Big business and the government utilize this situation to throw workers into competition with each other, feed anti-union sentiments among black workers and make the business community and the government appear as the real friends of the black workers.

For example, look at this newspaper report of a dialogue between Senator Robert Kennedy and a building trades leader, headed: "Kennedy Declares Building Unions Fail to Admit Negroes." Haggerty, one of the building trades leaders, responded: "We can't take aboard a boy that can't read or a boy that's a school dropout." Peter T. Shulman, president of the Plumbers' Union, said: "We have certain minimum requirements." Kennedy replied: "I would think that there are more than 21 boys in all of Cincinnati who can read."

What is the image here? That the government is on the side of the Negroes and the trade unions are against them.

Other headlines read: "Trade Union Bias Found Unchecked." "Apprenticeship Plan Excludes Minority Workers." "California Panel Finds Union Bias." "U.S. Warns Union on Training Bias. Sets Compliance Deadline for 500-Apprentice Plan." "Union Accused at State Hearing." One of the most scandalous of all is the following: "Negroes Upheld in Sheetmetal Apprentice Test." This was a test in which, of a total of 147 applicants, 24 were Negroes. Of these, 17 passed with the highest grades. But the union contested the examination as not being reflective of the aptitudes of these Negroes, and the court had to hand down a decision that the test was all right and that these youngsters do have some intelligence. Again, the court against the union. And again, it is the electrical workers' union, the plumbers' union and other building trades unions that are cited as the chief culprits. And these are only a small fraction of the newspaper headlines and articles on this problem.

Thus, a comprehensive program of jobs for all workers with consideration to the special problems of the black worker is the road to reducing the effect of the pro-fascist, racist offensive. This will be dealt with in greater detail below.

There are also some new developments in the area of housing which require a fresh look. The problem of housing as a generator of conflict between black and white workers dates back to the end of World War II. Prior to the war's end, a great deal of interracial activity had been built up on the job level in industry. But at that time the ghettos had not enlarged too much and there was not too much pressure to break out, and inasmuch as the black and white workers found so much in common on the job fighting the boss for better working conditions, friction was at a minimum.

In the postwar years, both the black and white workers accumulated some small savings with which to purchase a home. Large and continuous migrations of Negroes from the South resulted in the already overcrowded ghettos becoming altogether unlivable, and the Negro began a struggle to break out. Those with enough capital sought home ownership in white neighborhoods. The Supreme Court in 1949 ruled out restrictive covenants and gave legal sanction to the breaking up of the overcrowded ghetto.

But the Negro found a "not welcome" sign as he sought refuge from slum life in other neighborhoods. More often than not such signs took the form of mobs, or other forms of violence. The black worker now found his white working-class brother a part of the mobs, and this increased his distrust of all whites. Thought he, "Yesterday I believed that this man was my friend; today I find him in the camp of my enemies."

After a number of skirmishes in most cities, white Americans fled to suburbia. The ghettos were enlarged, and in most instances Negroes occupied the entire center of the city.

Today the problem has been compounded. The migrations from the South did not cease. They continued to the point where, in a number of cities, Negroes are in the process of becoming the majority of the population. And now the overcrowded conditions are forcing some Negroes to seek a solution in suburbia. The marches led by Dr. King in Chicago last year unleashed a fury on the part of whites not witnessed in recent years. Whites who fled from the city center several years ago now find themselves again hemmed in. Not even the suburbs give them peace from this ongoing black invasion.

This is the process taking place on the housing front which engenders racist onslaughts against black people anew. Behind it is an economic problem coupled with racist ideology of long standing.

Thus, racism is propelled forward today by black people making demands which dig deeper and deeper into the war policy of the government, demands which are not only anti-imperialist but are increasingly becoming anti-capitalist. It is accelerated by many liberals joining the ultra-Right attack on the movement. Racism is also fed by deteriorating economic conditions on the job and housing fronts and a failure to evolve a comprehensive program to meet these new problems. Resulting therefrom is greater friction between black and white.

Therefore, a radical change in the status of black people, a change toward greater security and a higher standard of living for all workers, requires a radical shift from racist ideology among white workers. This is a fundamental prerequisite for building a powerful coalition of black and white in the conditions of today. And it is only through such a coalition that America is going to be saved from the catastrophes threatening it.

Racism is also a major contributor to moods of black nationalism. The recent period has also witnessed a tremendous growth in this direction.

What is the source of this trend? What is the main content? In what way does it differ from black nationalist trends of other times? What should be the attitude of Communists to this development?

Black nationalism today arises in part from a feeling of being rejected by the white community. Historically, there have always existed two Americas, one black and one white. At the close of World War II, as we have indicated, the main thrust of the Negro movement in Northern areas was to break out of the ghetto. The main trend in the Negro community was for full integration into every institution of American life. But the Negro didn't break out of the ghetto; when they temporarily succeeded, whites fled, thus enlarging the area of ghetto life rather than eliminating it. This experience has left the Negro bitter and ever more distrustful of whites. Forced to live in the ghetto under conditions which are almost indescribable, the economic conditions of the mass of the Negro people continually worsened as those of other sections of the population, including some Negroes, got better. The contrast between affluence for a few Negroes and poverty for the mass of black people has been a driving force engendering even greater resentment of whites.

Thus many Negroes when they sum up the experiences of the last two decades, conclude that integration in the abstract will not automatically solve the problem of being black, that even in integrated houses, schools and other institutions, the Negro can and does remain a second-class citizen, with little or no say on decisions which have great meaning for his life.

In these circumstances, most Negroes have come to conclude that the exercise of freedom requires dealing with the other side from positions of strength, rather than depending on "good will" or "moral persuasion."

Another factor of no small importance is the discovery by many Negroes that they had been brain-washed by a white-led society. They had been led to believe that their ancestral background came from levels of social organization not much higher than animal life. Today, as they witness Africans playing a major role in all the affairs of mankind, this evokes from them a feeling of great pride in their own race, in the color of Black, and brings out a deep desire for greater identity with their past. Previous tendencies to try to escape the "sin" of being black are now replaced with an emphasis on being black.

These moods are also in the background of the slogan of "black power" and the emphasis of control over ghetto life. Most whites do not comprehend these psychological factors and feel rejected when Negroes place their emphasis in this direction.

A third factor producing a black nationalist path of development is the rise of three major categories of people in the ghetto. One category consists of the more recent waves of migrants from the South who are forced to go on relief or who find employment of the most menial nature in the service industries, where the pay is often less than what people receive on relief. People who fall in this category are called the underemployed. In most cases they are people who came from the rural South with little or no industrial experience; and in the North they work mostly in unorganized shops where their contacts with unions or with whites are minimal. And even when they are in unions, these are mostly unions headed by racketeers who work with the bosses to keep them in their unenviable position. People in this category make up a large segment of most black communities.

An NALC found that hundreds of thousands in the Chicago area earn less than \$3,000 a year. They are employed in industries such as apparel, merchandising, laundry and dry cleaning, hospitals, repair services, etc. The survey concludes: "In the greater Chicago area, at least 515,000 are working poor; of these, at least 400,000 live in the city of Chicago, the overwhelming part in the slums and ghettos."

The Negro population in Chicago is estimated at anywhere between 800,000 to 1,000,000. The underemployed represent at least one-third of this population. This group feels totally alienated from white society and isn't interested in building interracial life. It is therefore a major source of present-day nationalism.

Another category which engenders a drive toward nationalism is Negro youth, both the students and the unemployed.

In his book Slums and Suburbs, written in 1961 (before the ghetto uprisings), James B. Conant said of these strata:

In a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, a sampling of the youth population showed that roughly 70 per cent of the boys and girls aged 16 to 21 were out of school and unemployed.

The magnitude of the problem is appalling and the challenge to our society is clear. ... We are allowing social dynamite to accumulate in our large cities.

Since this survey was made, the figures have no doubt increased. This means that another large sector of the black community has grown up with little or no work experience.

The third grouping is Negro business. Classically, the rise of a native capitalist class within the nation has been the main springboard of nationalism. J. V. Stalin once observed: "The bourgeoisie learns its nationalism in the struggle for the market."

The Negro question in the U.S. cannot be treated in a mechanical fashion. There are, we we have noted, other transmission belts of nationalism. Nonetheless, the struggle of the black bourgeoisie to share in the market among its own people is one of the significant drives of present-day nationalism. The black ghetto bourgeoisie, mainly petty bourgeoisie, has grown in a number of communities in the last twenty years. Some black-owned enterprises are already in competition with white-owned companies.

Whereas formerly Negro capital was mainly invested in non-production enterprises, today there has been a marked increase in the field of production. The new capital formation has been mainly in the field of cosmetics and food-processing. Here and there one finds investments in other areas of production, but they are the exception.

The growth of the black bourgeoisie in recent times has taken two paths. There has been a considerable enlargement of one section employed as professional workers, in government agencies on the one hand, and of another section engaged in direct commercial enterprises on the other. The former tends toward individual integration as the solution; the latter sees an expanding ghetto and a growing market as a source of their greater development as capitalists. It therefore calls upon progressives to help them gain a greater share of the volume of business done in the ghetto. Whatever divisions exist in this category, most black businesses encourage the black power concept and help to feed nationalist sentiments.

These categories -- the unemployed, the underemployed, the youth and business -- represent a very large section of the total black population in most major cities. Their very existence and life experience mitigate against a working-class outlook. This situation, therefore, provides the main social base, the main springboard for black nationalism today.

In what way does present-day nationalism differ from that of the past? Regarding this trend, Harry Schwartz of the New York Times writes the following:

Black nationalism is not an entirely new phenomenon. In the 1920s Marcus Garvey's project for moving American Negroes to Africa won the support of hundreds of thousands of black men and women. ... Since World War II the Black Muslims have shown that a mass Negro movement of some proportions could be built on a form of black separatism and hatred of whites.

But what then is the content of the present wave?

First: It certainly is not a repetition of the escapist utopian schemes conceived by a Garvey in the 1920s.

Second: It is certainly not our former conception of what would happen in the Black Belt of the South, notwithstanding some similarities that flowed from that situation and which are very much present in today's movement.

Third: At the present time it is not the Elijah Muhammad approach, although that factor is there, and could under some circumstances be greatly enlarged.

The central thrust of this movement has not been directed against the white community indiscriminately, even though most use the term "whitey." Its major

pitch has been against the power of the state -- the police apparatus, the ruling circles -- and against business elements within the ghetto. There are few instances where Negroes have ganged up and beaten whites promiscuously in their communities, as was the case in race riots in the early 1920s. The Negro is not seeking a confrontation along such lines today.

The following description of nationalism presented by Barbara Ward, an internationally known political analyst, portrays the main content of this movement:

We know that the passionate desire of men to see themselves as equal with other human beings without distinction of class, or sex, or race, or nationhood is one of the driving forces of our day and I believe it is the taproot of modern nationalism. For this reason nationalism today comes to us in great measure in the form of equality, the equality of nations one with each other, the equality of esteem and prestige that comes from not being run by other nations. This is one of the great drives of our world and when we discuss nationalism, I think it is legitimate to unite it with the idea of equality.

Thus, at present the main content of black nationalism is of a progressive character. It does not exclude Negro-white unity, but it demands that such unity be meaningful and between equal partners. Roscoe Proctor was correct when he wrote:

Total integration is a recognized valid concept and is the ultimate goal of most black power advocates. Their desire to build black power is a practical recognition of a necessary process through which a genuine integration can be achieved. ("Notes on 'Black Power' Concept," Political Affairs, March 1967.)

This is also what is underlined by SNCC. They do not reject the necessity of coalition. And so, I would say that the predominant content of today's nationalism is not anti-white. It is distrustful of whites and has little confidence in their goodwill. True, whatever goodwill toward whites still exists in the black communities is evaporating very quickly, and what was the case yesterday may not be so tomorrow. But this analysis is being made on the basis of what is presently the case.

What should be the attitude of the CPUSA to these new nationalist currents? First of all, we must draw a line between nationalism and nationalism. The old folks have a saying, "Everybody talking about heaven ain't going there." To paraphrase this, we may say, "Everybody talking black, everybody promoting nationalism, don't really reflect the needs of black people."

Nationalism, historically appearing in many different climes, in many different forms, in many different forms, in many different tongues, through many different colors, assumes either a progressive path of development, or a reactionary one. There is no third way.

In present-day circumstances, we must draw a line between what is progressive and what is reactionary. The brand of nationalism expressed by the Black Muslim movement is basically a reactionary path. We can understand and sympathize with the conditions which are at the root of this movement. We can hail the many positive strengths which it generates, such as race pride and the dignity it conveys to its members. We feel that its members can make important contributions to the general welfare such as the courageous opposition to the war in Vietnam by Muhammad Ali.

But when the movement encourages non-participation in day-to-day struggles for partial demands, when it calls for complete separation of the races on all levels, when it demeans everybody with a white face, when it glorifies everybody with a black face--then, clearly, it is out of touch with reality and leads up a blind alley. Furthermore, wittingly or not, it helps to lay the basis for genocidal treatment of the American Negro. For the divisions among black and white at that level can only pave the way for an American brand of fascism.

We entertain hopes that these trends can be overcome and that the organization can take its place as a positive force for black freedom. At the same time, this analysis does not call for total rejection of everything the Muslims stand for. Even their ultimate goal, a black-led republic within continental United States, if manifested by a large segment of the black community in a socialist America, would be honored if American Communists had anything to do about it. Moreover, under such conditions, a separate state would receive the fullest economic, political and social cooperation, to make of it truly a free and prosperous community.

But the basic content of the main waves of nationalism, as we have shown, is progressive and goes in the direction of a struggle against capitalism and imperialism. As such, we support it and will do all within our power to help achieve the goals the black freedom fighters place.

We especially identify with our people in finding beauty in being black, pride in being black, and in seeking to reclaim much of a lost culture and heritage. This usage of the term "black" as applied to our people is a rejection of a former notion of black as being synonymous with evil, the devil, disaster or other undesirable things. We identify with this urge, notwithstanding that many of us will still use the words "black," "Afro-American" or "Negro" interchangeably.

But while we generally associate ourselves with the progressive content of nationalism, we do not uncritically embrace every tactic or method used by people who can be regarded as generally progressive. There are many situations in which, as a matter of principle, we are compelled to disagree. We reject those concepts in our ranks which fail to identify with the new nationalist urges among the people, but we likewise reject those opportunist trends which embrace uncritically everything that is advanced under a nationalist cover. This latter point is important because, while a trend may be progressive today, it may also contain seeds which would make it reactionary tomorrow. Failure to fight a minor disease today can open the door to a major disease tomorrow. Thus, it is necessary to fight colds as insurance against more serious developments.

In summary, we reject reactionary versions of black nationalism. We seek a progressive direction. We also fight reactionary tendencies within a generally progressive trend. Finally, we seek to infuse a greater class content into the movement generally, for only in this way can there be a sustained progressive development to a higher form of social organization, to a form of society that will eradicate all manifestations of racism, chauvinism, reactionary nationalism and provide for the full flowering of the Brotherhood of Man.

The struggle against nationalism of a reactionary character is a requirement for the building of a coalition of black and white, which is required to save America from impending catastrophe.

The new stage of the freedom struggle is marked by a growing crisis in techniques and methods. Those which sufficed yesterday are inadequate to meet the demands posed by the black people's movements today; consequently, much confusion exists as to what to do to compel substantial changes.

Floyd McKissick, executive director of the Committee on Racial Equality, calls for discarding the demonstration form of struggle. He says: "The nation does not respond to non-violent demonstrations." McKissick says he knows because he has taken part in "at least fifty of them."

Martin Luther King, after the outbreak of violence on the West Side of Chicago last year, said that the power structure responds with concessions only to acts of violence. And he now calls for a massive civil disobedience campaign.

Julian Bond, youthful black legislator from Georgia, has been quoted as saying that nothing is left to the Negro but to resort to violence, although he also noted that nothing would be achieved by violence. Some of the younger radicals around the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, like Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown, appeal for guerrilla warfare within the ghettos and cities in the United States. These young people take notice of the growing conspiracy on the part of the government, as well as ultra-Right organizations, to carry out a program of mass annihilation of black people. In this regard, their call to arms is still of a defensive nature.

The Carmichaels and Browns have been greatly inspired by the guerrilla methods in Vietnam. Here they see a poor, backward, undeveloped nation, using some of the most primitive methods of warfare, holding at bay the most powerful military force in human experience. They are likewise propelled in the direction of looking toward armed struggle by the Cuban Revolution, which started with a small band of guerrillas. From these facts they deduce that a black minority, led by militant, armed groups in the United States, can do no less than the former colonial peoples have done.

However, they overlook one important factor, namely, the support given the guerrillas by the overwhelming majority of the people. The guerrilla movement in Cuba was successful because it was supported in the countryside and in the cities by the majority of the Cuban people. What was true in Cuba is a thousand times more true in Vietnam.

Can it be successfully argued that an armed struggle in present conditions in the U.S. would enjoy the active or passive support by anything like a majority of the American people? Clearly not. Under such circumstances, the resort to arms of an offensive nature could only lead to suicide. Our people have fought too hard and too long to reach this point, to throw everything away in a suicidal action. The goal of the struggle must be victory, not defeat.

Black people are free today in Cuba through armed struggle, but it was struggle by an army composed of all kinds of Cubans and not just black Cubans. Indeed, there was only one Negro with Castro in the mountains initially. Hence, black people did not free themselves in Cuba by just their willingness to die. The political climate was right and there was support for the armed struggle in depth. Those from afar who counsel black people in the United States to take up arms as the road to freedom, regardless of the political circumstances, do the Negro people, as well as themselves, a great disservice.

Dr. King was not entirely correct when he said that the power structure responds with concessions only to violence. The stubborn facts are that the powers that be have not responded to any form of struggle with anything more than very minor concessions.

Struggles of great turbulence have raged in the nation's ghettos for the last three years; hundreds of millions of dollars in property have been destroyed. There has been an unprecedented loss of life, an unprecedented number of people injured, arrested and jailed. But the balance sheet in terms of results is no different than that of the period which was characterized by non-violent demonstrative forms of action. Thus, it is not a matter of choice between violent or non-violent struggles; the problem is much more difficult and complex than that.

The Communist Party of the United States has had considerable experience in dealing with the question of force and violence. Beginning in 1948, and throughout the decade of the 1950s, we were hounded, persecuted and prosecuted as being in league with a foreign power to overthrow this government by force and violence. Over a hundred and thirty Party leaders were convicted under the Smith Act. Many of them served several years in jail. Some of the young radicals may not remember this period, known to history as the era of McCarthyism. Perhaps some of them were too young to know what went on. But in any case, they should ponder over the experiences of those years, which can be useful as a guide to action today.

Throughout the Smith Act trials we Communists never renounced force and violence per se. We said that at certain historical moments the necessity for armed struggle may be present. But we held that we were not guilty of a conspiracy to employ force and violence, nor were we guilty of teaching and advocating the necessity of the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Furthermore, we stated, we seek a socialist change through peaceful means. But if it should become impossible to solve the problems by peaceful means, if the ruling class should block the channels of democratic expression, we would unhesitatingly call for the overthrow of such a government by all possible means, including armed struggle. To this approach American Communists still hold.

The present wave of violent actions in the black ghettos by black people is of a defensive nature, and the right of the black people to defend themselves even by

force of arms should be supported by all in the country who stand against injustice. However, it is one thing to defend oneself from attack by all necessary means, and it is another to choose this way as the main method of battle. As Communists pointed out in various Smith Act trials, there may well come a time when other forms of struggle must be supplemented by armed struggle. But this should not be dealt with as if it were a universal necessity. It is a matter of time, place and circumstances.

Before anyone begins talking about the necessity for armed guerrilla warfare in the cities of the United States, an assessment should be made as to whether all other forms have become obsolete and incapable of meeting the problems. If this is found to be the case, then revolutionary forces should prepare for such struggles. But if not, proposals for armed action can have fatal consequences. History records many examples of successful uprisings; but it also records that premature and uncalled for actions along this line have led minority groups to slaughter and caused movements to be set back for many years. Such an important question, therefore, should not be dealt with off the top of one's head.

A superficial examination of the present moment could lead to conclusions that we have reached the point where all other methods have failed. For twelve long years the black community, especially in the South, has been engaged in massive non-violent methods of struggle. The demonstrations of this period have no parallel in American history. The demonstrators have also shown a patience that has few parallels. Unarmed men, women and children have flung themselves before the power structure almost as sacrificial offerings; they have been murdered, beaten, jailed and set upon with ferocious dogs and cow prods; they have been the victims of the most savage and inhuman terror. And now, twelve years later, the balance sheet shows only token gains. Jim Crow and segregation are still a basic part of American life.

Our youth have seen their cries for relief go unheeded by the white-led power structure. This has impelled some of them to call for more violent methods.

Another factor which weighs heavily in the negative attitude of some freedom fighters toward demonstrations and other milder forms of struggle is their discovery that to win their full goals the social system of capitalism will have to be changed. Some of them conclude that since capitalism is the source of the problem, then why engage in actions that at best bring only temporary relief.

If capitalism is the source of the inferior status of black people, it would indeed follow that only with the elimination of the system can Negroes gain equality. In a general sense, this is true. But from this truth, some wrong and harmful conclusions are drawn.

There are some on the Left who advance the idea that no substantial change in the Negro's status is possible in the capitalist framework, that only token gains can be made. For example, Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, in their book, Monopoly Capital (Monthly Review Press, New York 1966), say the following: "Today Negroes are on the bottom, and there is neither room above nor anyone ready to take their place. Thus, only individuals can move up, not the group as such. Reforms help the few, not the many." (p. 279.)

If the Negro people's movement accepted this viewpoint, the struggle would be set back for generations to come. To tell the Negro masses that only a few individuals can move upward so long as capitalism exists, is to tell them to sit around and wait until socialism comes on the agenda, or until then just to propagandize for socialism in the abstract.

To bring about socialism requires a process of struggle varying according to the given conditions. Those who advocate a policy which sees no progress for the masses under capitalism are like a farmer who expects a bumper crop although he tilled no soil, planted no seeds and cultivated no plants.

The road to a socialist reorganization of society is no longer a matter of hypothesis or guess-work. One-third of the world has taken the socialist path and another sector among the newly-liberated countries is heading in that direction. Thus, we have before us a wealth of experience. And as the struggle for socialism goes forward in the rest of the world, new experiences will be added.

Within that framework, however, there are some universal truths that have stood the test of time.

Among these is the fact that the struggle for socialism develops in the framework of democratic struggles within the capitalist system. In all instances where the socialist struggle was successful, it was preceded by a stage of struggle for radical shifts or changes within the old society. The classical form this has taken is the struggle for bourgeois democracy.

Today in the United States, the Negroes' struggle for equality is essentially a democratic struggle. And in this struggle, it is possible to change his status substantially, short of socialism. Indeed, the balance sheet of struggle for the last fifteen years has in some areas already passed beyond tokenism.

The desegregation of public places, both in the North and the South, represents a substantial change. With regard to the role of Negroes in sports, too, the change has been substantial. Negro employment in government services has taken a qualitative leap forward and is more than token.

It is true that in an over-all sense the Negroes' gain in the last period has been minimal. But substantial changes have nevertheless been made. And given increased struggle by all segments of the American people, substantial progress in the economic and political fields can also be made that will go beyond tokenism.

Some argue that placing the question in this way can only feed illusions in the capitalist system. Now, it is true that the winning of reforms under capitalism can temporarily create such illusions. But it is also true that the ongoing struggle for reforms can increasingly expose the limitations of the system and lead to greater consciousness of the need to change it.

However much one may understand the background which drives our youth to guns, sober judgment calls for presentation of an approach which can win results. This means bringing the struggle down to its common denominator.

The main problems of the people in the ghettos revolve around income and power. The Negro is the victim of a hierarchy of superexploitation which involves wages, prices, rents, interest rates and other means of extracting profits. His problem on the economic front calls for the kind of actions which can consistently narrow down the area of superexploitation. It means building up many different forms of organization on the economic front.

In the political arena, the main problem is not how to get a response from the power structure as it presently exists. The problem is how basically to change this structure. This is more difficult. It is less dramatic than a gun battle in the street; it requires much more painstaking work. But it has been wisely said: "The race is not always won by those who run the fastest, but by those who can endure to the end."

It is one of the ironies of our time that those same forces who have done so much to shake up our society, who correctly placed the question of power on the agenda, now wander afield. They proceed on another journey at a time when what they urged yesterday is coming on the agenda. All over this country black people are expressing their independence of the old-line political parties and are preparing actions which can propel Negroes much deeper into the political section of the power structure.

Today, a Hatcher, a Stokes, a Willis make the race for mayor in three large cities. They are the harbingers of future black mayors in a large number of American cities. The Freedom Democratic Party, a creature of the young radicals, stands on the threshold of great electoral victories. We are about to reap the harvest from the voter registration drive which represented so many years of effort. And now some are losing faith in this path of development and call for the more dramatic action--the resort to arms.

Now, the election of Negroes to mayoralities and other high offices will not automatically lead to an improvement of the conditions of the masses. At present a struggle is being waged to determine who will control these officials. The ruling circles are reading the handwriting on the wall and are taking steps to guarantee

full control, regardless of who gets elected. This is the meaning of the support given Stokes in Cleveland by some of the business community, as well as the support from the top command of the Democratic Party. This is also in the background of the support being given Hatcher in Gary by top circles of the party, notwithstanding the fact that local Democrats are giving support to the Republican candidate. Dedicated freedom fighters must not refrain from these struggles because of these ruling class maneuvers, however. On the contrary, the situation dictates the need for maximum effort to get representatives who will be responsive to the people, not to the white power structure.

Therefore, the effort at the ballot box to alter the present relationship of forces in the government apparatus is the main direction the struggle must take. In pursuance of the goal of reducing the area of superexploitation and of enhancing political power, a multiplicity of forms and techniques of struggle will be needed.

Some of these struggles will be non-violent; others may occasion the defensive use of violence. But in any case, the main weapons that black folks can use include, first, their labor power, their ability to halt production and reduce the profits of the big corporations. Second, they include their consumer power, their ability to disturb the profits of those firms which practice discrimination. And finally, they include their political power which, if wisely used, can compel some meaningful changes even in the framework of the capitalist system. Socialism is the final solution, but the struggle for limited goals today will pave the way to a full solution tomorrow.

To build a coalition of black and white requires full utilization of all forms of power that the people possess. It also requires avoiding escapist illusions, of which the enemy can and will make good use. Our nation can surmount its crises only if all the people find appropriate forms of struggle and act in concert.

Illumination of our task requires a review of our work in the last ten years. Of course, such a review must of necessity be limited, especially when we have before us so many pressing current problems.

There are some among us who say that we have had a wrong line for the last ten years. I wish to challenge this appraisal as not being in accord with the facts. That there were certain inadequacies in our line is very evident; there are many things that we did not foresee. But any appraisal must be made against a backdrop of what is and is not readily observable. Otherwise, the Party line becomes a line that is all-seeing. Such an idea is non-Marxist. I would only say that when we are dealing with such questions we should say that in the present circumstances the following is the case; tomorrow, in a different set of circumstances, something else may be the case. But as of now we operate on the basis of what we can see.

Those who speak of a wrong line say in essence that we should have retained the slogan of self-determination for the Black Belt. My answer to that is categorically "no." We were 100 per cent correct in dropping the slogan of self-determination. Having done so, we proceeded to state further that the Negro question is still a national question. The resolution of the 17th National Convention says:

To conclude that the Negro people in the United States are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for its solution.

But though we retained the concept of the national character of the question, we failed to probe deeper and to outline in depth the nature of the national question as it is manifested today and as it may possibly be manifested tomorrow.

Some of us were involved in formulating the above paragraph and inserting it into the text of the resolution. But we didn't define the distinguishing characteristics, although we knew it wasn't the same as the national question in relation to any other minority group, also that it wasn't the same as it was when we talked about a nation in the Black Belt.

One source of weakness in our Party is that when we adopt a so-called general line, it answers everything. Lines must be constantly fed and implemented. Notwithstanding the formulation in the resolution characterizing the problem as national in character, we underestimated the possibilities of a continued growth in this direction. We underestimated the effects of the accumulated years of material developments toward nationhood in the South, as well as the significance of some of the concepts that we had put forward. We interpreted too mechanically the undermining of the nation in the Black Belt by migration into the cities and into the North. We expected changes more in the direction of the class character of the struggle and less in the direction of the national character.

But things did not go that way. When we say that the majority of the Negroes are now in the industrial proletariat, that the main center of the problem now lies not in the peasantry but in the proletariat, we must remember that ideological changes usually lag behind material changes. But we overlooked the fact that certain national attributes that the Negro was evolving in his Black Belt experience could spill over when he came North.

We were also slow in understanding that the motive factor promoting nationalism in the black community with these migrations was the same as that which operated after World War I, when the rise of Garveyism took place. Then, too, the Negro fled from the South to the North and instead of finding the "promised land," he found Jim Crow, segregation, and conditions in the North as miserable as in the South. His disillusionment laid the foundation for Garvey to preach "Go back to Africa." As he saw things, in the words of the poet Ted Ward, "America is one big white fog so thick and impenetrable that a black man can never get through it."

What took place after World War I has been repeated under new conditions in the forties, fifties and sixties. The wave of migration of Negroes from the South to the North has become a continuous process, especially with the growing displacement of Negroes in agriculture.

It is interesting to see what happens to the migrants. On the South Side of Chicago there have been no eruptions of a major character. It is on the West Side that these have taken place. There the population consists mainly of Negroes recently from the South who are mainly employed not in steel, auto, farm equipment or other mass production industries, but at the lowest rung of the economic ladder in the service industries. They are mainly unorganized and have had no union experience. They have had little or no association with whites except to see them on the job, and then go back to the ghetto. They constitute most of the people on the relief rolls, most of the ADC cases, etc. On the other hand, a large segment of the South Side inhabitants are older residents who have been in the city 30 or 40 years, who have seniority in some industries, and who have accumulated some savings and live relatively well.

There seems to be an attitude that the Negroes are polarized by the existence of extreme poverty at one end and the rise of a middle class at the other. But there is also a category of workers in between who are mainly in unions and have evolved a certain degree of trade union and class consciousness.

Thus, it is clear that changes in the occupational status, especially in the area of the underemployed, do not automatically lead to trade union or working-class consciousness. This, too, is part of the raw material out of which an explosive growth of nationalism has already evolved.

There was nothing in our line that would have prohibited us from understanding in greater depth the possibilities of a new and broader wave of black nationalism. The problem, I repeat, is that general line and policy must be constantly checked to see what is new, what is aborning, and on this basis to make the necessary adjustments to correspond to the new realities.

In addition to our failure to understand and anticipate the present wave of nationalism, we have historically underestimated the role of color, of race, of oppression as driving forces for Negro nationalism. We have tried to explain this trend from the definition Stalin gave of a nation as an historically evolved community having in common language, geography, economic life and psychological make-up. This definition is generally sound, but in dealing with the American Negro, we are dealing with

a people that has a history different from any other people on earth. And fully to understand his make-up, we must take into consideration that here color, race and oppression operate independently of Stalin's definition.

I have dwelt on our weaknesses in this connection in order to draw lessons for the present and the future. The Proctor article, which foresees another decade of the continued growth of black nationalism, could lead us to repeat today the same error as yesterday. It is conceivable that tomorrow, under new and different stimuli, the present trend toward nationalism could evaporate and give way to greater cohesion between black and white. Our Party at all times should be prepared for all eventualities.

While we did not foresee some of these developments, our line was sufficient to have given us a better grasp of events. We were groping along the way when the Muslim movement appeared on the scene as a serious force. And we evolved an approach which, if we had followed through, would have led us to a much different situation. At that time we wrote:

The growth of nationalism in a distorted form is also a reaction to the distortions of the theory of integration. There is an old Chinese proverb which says: "Two men sleep in the same bed but dream different dreams." This can also be said about integration. To some, integration means assimilation. It means the abolition of the Negro communities as such. It means liquidation of the so-called Negro entirely into an Anglo-Saxon melting pot. To some it means tokenism - the advancement of a few Negroes into positions of influence, while the Negro masses remain essentially in the same position. There is no contradiction between integrating Negroes into every phase of American life and the removal of the whole structure of jim crow and segregation and the continued existence of large concentrations of Negro people.

In the present American political power structure the maintenance of large Negro communities will be a necessity. This will be necessary not only for cultural purposes but also for protecting gains made in the struggle for integration. This should in no way be interpreted as a continuation of the ghetto with all its dehumanizing features. The ghetto must be destroyed and interracial communities must be built, but at the same time Negro communities will and should remain as outposts of political power from which the Negro can sit in councils of political affairs with equal voice.

How long this condition will remain will be determined by what happens in the whole body politic or on the completeness with which people are judged on their merits and not their color. For example, the political structure in every major Northern city is composed of combinations of national groups. The Irish in Chicago is the only group which now wields power not based on its numerical or voting strength. When the Negro can do the same there will be no need for emphasis of this point.

This was written in 1961, several years before the "black power" slogan came on the scene. Based on this thinking, in 1964 the Negro Affairs Commission issued the first comprehensive program designed by any group to alleviate conditions in the black ghettos. Later on, the Organization Department selected several ghettos as places of concentration. Among them were Watts and the West Side of Chicago.

Here again, the problem was not our line. It can be said that we anticipated some of the explosions. But even so, we didn't realize the imminence and depth of those that followed a year or two later; for if we had, I'm certain we would have given more serious attention to the concentration areas we had set down on paper.

There have been many other weaknesses in our work that time does not permit us to examine in detail. We shall touch on only a few of them. Among them is a growth of conservatism in our ranks which has slowed down our ability to assess what is really new in a given situation. We become subjective and believe that because we have behind us a great deal of experience, we can only teach and not learn.

The independent role of our Party during these last years also requires some analysis. We came through the Smith Act trials and the McCarran Act persecutions with some battle scars which require removal.

We lost the art of taking timely initiatives. We blurred over the possibility for our Party to continue to play a pioneering role, an independent role. Elements of tailism set in as we sat on the sidelines and waited for others to act. During this period we also failed to find ways and means of developing constructive critical approaches in both the house of labor and the civil rights movement.

In regard to the latter, it was late in the day before we saw the necessity for a really critical approach to the leadership of the NAACP. It was only after the Association's 1965 convention in Denver that we began to become sharply critical of this leadership. We opposed A. Philip Randolph only on the issue of red-baiting; but his actions to keep the NALC a small apparatus that he could control went on without a murmur from us. His tendencies to give in to George Meany without some solid commitments was also a weakness that we failed to take note of.

Even in the case of Dr. Martin Luther King, who embraces a philosophy which differs from Marxism, our policy failed to combine endorsement of his tactical line with criticism of his non-violent concepts. Thus, we left the field to Malcolm X who now, in martyrdom, has become a man of great stature.

Even now there are those in our ranks who seek to imitate the young radicals without any thought of their inadequacies, or of anything that we as Communists can add.

In the coming period our Party must find ways and means of identifying itself with all advanced progressive forces, but at the same time we must, as a matter of principle, express our differences whenever we have them. Our criticism must be friendly and precise, and we must avoid name-calling and pinning labels on people. Nor should our criticism be put forward as if it were the last word on the matter--as if we had just walked out of a conference with God and emerged with the final answer.

All this points up the necessity for us to understand clearly what the main needs of the people's movements are, and to determine in what way our Party can be useful, what it can add to the work that others are not geared or ideologically equipped to contribute. It is in this way that we shall perform our vanguard role in the conditions of today's struggles.

The central question on which we must focus is how to establish a lasting and durable coalition of black and white on various levels, but particularly in the working class.

In the 1930s we pioneered the path that led to a new birth of Negro and white unity at the grass-roots level. This unity was the main force which compelled a number of concessions to the broad masses. And it was undoubtedly the main force which at that time prevented America from goose-stepping alongside of Hitler and the Axis powers.

Sinclair Drake and Horace Cayton document this contribution in their celebrated work Black Metropolis. They write:

During the early thirties marchers in left wing demonstrations... carried placards...black and white unite.... Close interracial cooperation became associated in the popular mind with the Reds... Negroes and whites...have always cooperated...but usually in white employer-Negro employee relations or as Negro leader-white patron. These Communist slogans signified something that was new...a small band of white men proclaiming as a goal complete unity of Negro and white workers in a joint struggle to build a new society. Not even the abolitionists had stood for that.

These actions became the property of vast masses with the birth of the CIO and other developments. The Communist Party made many contributions during this period, but the most important of them was to galvanize unity between black and white workers against the white bosses.

Today, almost forty years later, we must once again pioneer new fields. The struggle for Negro and white unity must go forward today in new forms. Yesterday's approach is too mild to meet the problems of this stormy period. The question is no longer one of just talking about black and white unity; the problem now is how to forge such unity on the basis of complete equality for black people. The problem now is to help guarantee equality of a black minority in a white-majority society. This is the general goal to be fought for.

But to reach that goal a fundamental prerequisite is the demonstration in action by white Americans of good faith toward their black brothers when they converge together in a common struggle. This means that in interracial organizations in general and in the trade union movement in particular, Communists must not and cannot remain at peace with forces who fail to grasp this fundamental truth. This means that our Party must gear itself to be an effective force in leveling all barriers to an equal say by black people on all matters pertaining to the general welfare. And on those problems facing the people of the ghetto, black people and they alone must decide what is to happen. Advice and counsel, yes. But the decisions must be theirs.

This objective is very easy to put on paper, but is extremely difficult to realize in everyday life. There are no easy answers. All our clubs, district boards, commissions and other Party bodies including the national committee must keep this problem before them as a permanent feature on every agenda. If we concentrate our attention on this we will come up with answers as to how to do the job. We will make mistakes along the way, but they will be the kind of mistakes which arise out of an aggressive drive to find solutions. In a general way we know what must be done; we know that the approach cannot rest on moral persuasion, but must be based mainly on self-interest. We also know that some people cannot understand self-interest until they are confronted with a crisis. If this is what has to be, then we should have no hesitation in creating a crisis.

Let us take the building trades unions and some other craft unions. They are the main barriers to the upgrading of Negro workers. Here it is not just a problem of bad union leadership. Many of the rank and file also believe that Negroes in apprenticeship training and as journeymen will constitute a threat to their jobs. In some circumstances, they must be shown that when they fail to fight for their black brothers, this is the most dangerous threat to their jobs and wage standards.

The Negro masses are restless. In order to keep alive lines of coalition with their white brothers, they have had to concede most often; they have had to remain silent about discrimination in the interest of trade union unity. For forty years or more the ruling class has not been able to play black and white against each other in strike struggles. But this reservoir of good will for the trade unions is drying up and unless some radical changes take place, the bosses may succeed in doing what they did during and after World War I, when they brought Negroes in from the plantations to break strikes. The large number of Negroes who are unemployed and underemployed, as well as the thousands of displaced agricultural workers in the South, provide fertile ground for such developments today. We are not arguing for this line of approach, but we must face realities even though they are sometimes distasteful.

Thus, one of the chief ideological weapons for bringing white skilled workers to understand where their real interests lie, is to make them aware of the danger that the bosses may use differences between black and white workers to destroy unions altogether. White Americans in general and white workers in particular must also come to understand that the growing attack against the Negro in the ghettos should be a warning signal to them, too. The bell also tolls for them. If the government and ultra-Right forces succeed in creating a race war in the country the aftermath could well be a police state in which no one would have any rights, and the AFL-CIO could be replaced by a fascist labor front.

We should discuss at this conference what we can do to reverse the present trends in the building trades unions. We should also discuss the question of how to develop a drive to organize the unorganized workers in the service industries, both in the South and in the North. It is my firm opinion that we can reverse some of the current trends toward disunity if such drives are organized among the poorest strata of the workers, both black and white.

When we built unity between black and white workers in the 1930s, we didn't start with the highly-paid skilled workers in the craft unions. In most cases we had to fight them with other unions, including some all-Negro unions. Our starting point was the unemployed, later the independent unions and still later the birth of the CIO. Perhaps some of the experience of that period could be useful in helping to chart a course today.

In regard to the freedom movement, the chief task and vanguard role of the Party, as expressed primarily by black Communists, must be to introduce a class content into the present wave of black nationalism. We must fight against all separatist tendencies as self-defeating. We must do so while respecting the fears black people have of being assimilated by whites. We must fight for full power in the ghettos while struggling against tendencies to go overboard in some situations.

Lately, some discussion has developed about what strata of the Negro people we base ourselves on. Inasmuch as ours is a working-class Party, our main orientation must be to work among black workers. However, concentration on the working class does not negate working closely with other strata of the Negro people. Our object should be to show these other strata why it is so vital for the whole movement to have black workers involved substantially in all struggles.

There are those in our ranks who pull in different directions with regard to the various trends within the movement. What should be our position? First, we still regard the Negro movement as an all-class movement. Hence we are interested at all times in finding common denominators which can throw the weight of the whole movement in a given direction. Occasionally an issue comes along that makes it possible to do just that. But more often the movement is beset with sharp cleavages and is split into "conservatives," "moderates" and "young militants," and must seek to reduce the influence of the conservative element.

We see positive strength in both the moderates and the young black militants. Some among us downgrade the young militants and gravitate more toward the middle or moderate forces. There should be no such gravitational pulls. Each group has its role to play. Of these young people, no matter how much we may disagree with this or that tactic, we can say no less than Robert Weaver, now a part of the establishment and certainly no radical, said at the Urban League convention last year:

Negro youth can be and has been constructive and effective in its protest. ... The Negro protest might well have never gotten off the ground had it not been for them. ... Thus, I do not ignore the angry words of the new militants, for their tone, their demands, their challenge...their repudiation of middle class behavior are real and basic.

Both of these currents, expressing themselves around the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, represent the hard core of the protest movement. Unity among these groups on most questions is possible and necessary. Any one of them, taken by itself, does not have the necessary striking power to isolate the conservatives and their influence.

Of course, there are times when the action of one group inspires or prods another into motion. And most of the time the initiative comes from the youth. This is only natural. However, in the long run, combined efforts of all these forces are needed to make a meaningful contribution. And if in the near future the black workers come into sharper focus, the contributions of all will be enlarged.

There are times when we as Communists will have to take issue with one or another action by this or that leader, this or that organization. But when we do, we must not underestimate the positive qualities of both the Left and center forces. Indeed, we need a criterion to distinguish who is Left and who is center. In all of these organizations there are people who see the necessity for a change in the system, and the trend is growing.

The growth of this anti-capitalist sentiment is laying the foundation for a radical shift to the Left by all of these forces. In such circumstances, I foresee the possibility of building our Party once again as an influential force.

This conference should also discuss the question of why so few young militant Negroes are joining our ranks. We should also discuss the kind of house-cleaning we need to do to attract and hold them.

In closing, let me say that notwithstanding the great difficulties, we have a rendezvous with destiny. I am confident that we and the American people will find the common path pointed out by Professor Melman. We will unite the pro-democratic forces of our country. Whites will overcome their prejudices, not because they love the Negro, but basically, I believe, because they love themselves.

Wherever there is a white bandit who attacks Negroes, white Communists will jump at his throat; wherever black people, out of frustration or other reasons, follow a no-win policy, black Communists will help them find their way.

Together, black and white Communists are going to make significant contributions toward radical changes in our society. Eventually we will build a country of freedom for all--a socialist America.

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COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

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F B I

Date: 11/20/67

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(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM *WMP* SAC, BUTTE (100-8414) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
OO: New York

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

Enclosed for the Bureau are five and for New York one copy of a LHM.

The source referred to is [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because data reported from these Informants could reasonably result in the identification of Confidential Informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In accordance with instructions in Buairtel to Butte, 12/27/65, captioned "CP, USA, COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, IS - C," BuFile #100-3-104-MAIN, an original of the documents is enclosed.

THE ENCLOSURES SHOULD NOT BE MARKED IN ANY WAY.

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3 - Butte

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100-442529-2434

NOV 24 1967

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HOW FORN: WASHINGTON 11/28/67
DATE FORN: RLS

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Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

54 DEC 1967



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

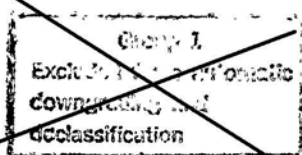
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Butte, Montana, 59701
November 20, 1967

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on November 20, 1967, made available the following letter dated November 13, 1967, together with the two enclosures referred to in the letter:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



100-442529 2434

Nov. 13, 1967

TO ALL DISTRICTS

Dear Comrades:

We are enclosing, as well as sending under separate cover, material from the conference on New Stages in the Struggle for Negro Freedom.

Please arrange that the extra copies you receive should be given to participants in the conference from your district.

The main report by Claude Lightfoot is now in the printshop and should be available to send to you within a week to 10 days. Some proposals for its utilization within the Party as well as in the mass movements will be sent you within a short time. In the meantime you can place initial orders with New Outlook distributors.

Comradely yours,

National Org. Department

CONFERENCE ON STRATEGY & TACTICS IN THE NEW STAGE OF
STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO LIBERATION
(October 14-15, 1967)

Report of Panel on Work in the White Community (Approved by
the Conference)

Summary of Proposals:

Introduction:

We are living in a period of great opportunities, but one fraught with great dangers. On the one hand, large sections of every major white community today are puzzled and concerned about what is happening now in America and what the future will bring. This concern arises not from a sudden ideological elevation of class conscious understanding, but rather for the most part has developed out of a new awareness of self-interest. Indicative of this development is the significant support for Negro candidates in some white communities.

On the other hand, however, the current period is pregnant with serious dangers of racial conflict and further disintegration of relations between white and black workers. The forces of reaction and racism have accelerated their campaign to promote fear and hysteria in already tense and confused white communities.

Broad areas of common concern exist between Negroes and whites. Any serious progress in any of these areas depends upon mutual struggle and unified actions. For instance, the trade union movement must be made to see that in many cases its very existence and its entire future depends upon a forthright and unambiguous fight in behalf of the Negro people; urban dwellers must be made aware that the future of our cities, arresting and reversing the decay of our urban centers, depends upon a reordering of national priorities, and that the interests of whites are one with Negroes in this struggle.

For our Party the present period offers a most serious challenge, one which can and must be met. To fulfill our responsibilities, however, we will have to make significant changes, and in this respect the role of white Communists in their communities becomes central.

I. To fulfill our role in leading this struggle the Party must undertake an intense and thorough ideological campaign in our own ranks.

We must seek to equip our members to act as initiators of struggle in every aspect of their lives--on the job, in their unions, in their neighborhoods, and social organizations. We must struggle to overcome all weaknesses which exist in our ranks on the question of white chauvinism and subtler forms of paternalism. Our goal must be to re-establish the basis for courageous action on the part of every member, not just in word, but in deed. We must become the initiators of mass struggles wherever we are.

2. An indispensable part of our work must be full and effective use of all available literature. But in addition to existing and regular publication of pamphlets and other materials, the Party should produce a new popular mass pamphlet or brochure dealing with the major issues facing the white community. This educational piece should be written in popular language for free mass distribution by every Party club, and should deal substantively with commonly held misconceptions and backward attitudes found among many white people. It should put forward avenues for building truly honest Negro-white unity on the basis of the self-interest of white working people.

3. On the national level a form must be utilized for coordination of national programs and through which black and white people can function together on the basis of true equality and mutual respect. Organizations such as ADA, CORE, etc. which at one time reflected a lower stage of development, no longer fully and adequately fulfill this role. There are today thousands of white people who at one time actively contributed to progressive activity, and who today are without such a form for their participation. NCNP and other organizations should be considered as

potential avenues for such participation.

A national defense organization such as the Civil Rights Congress of an earlier period, appears to be lacking today. We ought to give serious attention to building such an organization based on contemporary relations.

4. A crucial element of our work must be to open a second front in the anti-war movement. We must show predominantly white peace groups that the only basis of healthy black-white unity must be grounded in their making the struggle for Black Liberation as much a part of peace work as the issues of peace are today for the Black Liberation movement. This requires that we show arenas of common concern, like the issue of police brutality, and rally the anti-war movement to activity in defense of Negro rights.

5. The MFD challenge to the Democratic Convention should be made a central national issue of struggle. Support for the challenge should be built in every community, both within and outside the Democratic party structure. Resolutions of support should be developed at each state Democratic convention. In addition, this activity should be utilized as a part of our campaign to urge Negro candidates to run wherever possible for Congressional and other positions.

6. A central arena for building black-white unity must be in our trade union work. The Party must take steps now in every district to select a plant, shop, or industry in which we take the lead in organizing the unorganized. There is no area of the country in which unorganized shops do not exist where Negroes, whites and other minority group peoples work side by side under the worst conditions.

Such a campaign on our part will also serve to revitalize the trade union movement while placing the question of a massive organizing drive in the South before every union for immediate action.

7. We must single out the building trades as a special area for a battle to open union ranks to all minority groups, breaking the tokenist policies of most unions in the crafts. Compensatory job-training and apprenticeship programs should be included as essential to any meaningful steps to be taken by such unions. We refer these proposals to the Trade Union Commission for detailed development and suggest that one union, such as the Plumbers, be selected for initial concentration.

8. The Party should place itself in the forefront of the battle to defend Ray Brown, the Fort Hood Three, Ron Lockman, the RAM group, and others who have been subject to frame-up prosecutions. We call for an immediate campaign in our press and the setting of control tasks for every club with a plan of check-up. This campaign must not be limited to fund-raising within the Party itself, but rather should be taken by the Party into every mass organization and the general community for attention.

9. An integral part of our Party activity on these issues must be the proper use and role of our press. The Worker and progressive nationality papers must make these issues much more fully a fundamental part of their coverage; they should serve as organs of education and agitation, and must be used by our Party as indispensable tools in our mass work. From a partisan working-class standpoint we must not fear to be publicly critical of liberals, trade unions and others when necessary in combating racism and subtler forms of chauvinism, including in the progressive movements.

10. Special attention should be given to our work among nationality groups, and notably in our work among youth in this field. Our effort in Jewish community work must be reshaped for a major campaign against racism at all levels. All too often our Party has narrowly seen this work as properly only for our older comrades. Such an emphasis is one-sided and narrow; our youth must be mobilized to enter this field as well.

11. In white community work a campaign should be initiated around the theme of "to save our cities." This campaign offers a common ground for self-interest organization which can serve as a broad base for developing Negro-white unity. The question of re-ordering national priorities to deal with urban development, taxes,

housing, community control, education, and transportation is central to this battle.

To make such a program meaningful, the Party must take this campaign into every neighborhood, mass organization, church and social group, etc. We must expose and combat the attempt of the ultra-Right to make demagogic use of these issues.

12. An integral part of the campaign for Negro-white unity and central to the struggle against racism in white communities is a fight to guarantee the defeat of Wallace in the '68 elections. We must take every step necessary to guarantee that Wallace and his supporters are isolated in every community and expose the racist, anti-union, anti-Communist nature of his appeal.

13. Students and the academic and intellectual community must play no small role in this struggle. A major battlefield against racism are the campuses and elementary and secondary schools of our country. A fight must be initiated in every school system and on every campus to guarantee open admissions policies, compensatory schooling, special scholarships, integrated teaching staffs, curriculum dealing with Negro and Labor history, and the elevation of minority group educators to positions of policy-making and authority at every level.

14. Our policy of industrial concentration has special significance for the struggle in the white community. If a breakthrough can be made in auto, steel, transportation, etc. among white workers on the special needs of Negro workers on the job and in their fullest voice in union policy-making, then these workers and unions can become a powerful lever to move the whole trade union movement and white working masses generally. Since these industries now have such a large proportion of black workers, such a breakthrough is both more necessary and possible.

In this respect we must make a special study with respect to the "industrial suburb," as a means by which Negroes are deprived of opportunities to enter the fields in which meaningful jobs are available.

Conclusion:

This report outlines only our initial tasks. It should serve as a basis in every district for immediate attention to the responsibility of our Party to make the fight against racism a fundamental and central part of our work in every field.

It is the feeling of this workshop that the Party should consider special conferences to further develop our work in this field.

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The Afro-American in the Arts Today

By Douglass Archer

The characteristic perception of the Afro-American in the arts today is his realization that he is on the eve of a great fertile and revolutionary period. This awareness permeates every section of the arts where Blacks are creating. It is the subject of numerous conversations, debates, meetings and conferences. At least, in the case of Black writers, the most articulate body in the arts, a conscious character and direction is being developed for a new and powerful Afro-American renaissance. It is the content of that imminent renaissance and how some of us in this room may help influence it that I will talk about today.

Just to refresh our memories, there have been two great periods in the development of the Black artist in the U.S. One was during the Negro literary Renaissance period of the 1920's when white patrons helped bring forth giants like Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Alain Locke, Langston Hughes, Arna Bontemps, to name a few.

This Renaissance was centered in Harlem and concentrated on the thrust of the "New Negro," on historical themes, on an interest in Africa, on some symbolism and racial pride. "Black But Beautiful" was a main theme. In their poetry and novels the writers of this period broke with the polite mannerisms of past pioneers like Charles Chestnutt and expressed themselves in earthy and realistic terms.

The second surge forward came, after a short fallow period, during the days of the depression when the government acted as an art patron through the WPA. It was from this period, leading into the forties, that writers like Richard Wright, and again Langston Hughes, Willard Motley, Chester Himes, Roi Ottley, the young Lofton Mitchell, Alice Childress and others came forth. Though it centered in New York and Chicago this development was on a national scale. And the content of many of the works then changed from an emphasis on Africa or "Black But Beautiful" to a new interest in the history of the Negro people and a portrayal of their social and economic problems.

During the witchhunts of the Communists in the fifties, every level of society was affected and the arts-for-arts sake fad which pushed forward during that time, with few exceptions, affected black writers and artists. Ralph Ellison and his thinly veiled anti-communist novel, "The Invisible Man" was the Negro literary lion of the hour and many formerly outspoken black writers and artists kept silent or busied themselves with teaching or compiling anthologies.

The Negro Liberation struggle in the South soon burst forth upon the consciousness of the nation. It swept up many of the writers and artists who first spoke out during the beginning of the fifties like John O. Killens, Lofton Mitchell, William Branch, John A. Williams, Ossie Davis, and others who came later like Lerone Bennett Jr., William Denby, Lorraine Hansberry and James Baldwin. A whole new school of young writers emerged during this time of struggle in the North and South - a time which ushered in simultaneously, the freedom demands of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In literature artists like Douglass Turner Ward emerged. William Melvin Kelly, Le Roi Jones, Ron Milner, Rosa Guy, Calvin Hernton, Lennox Raphael, Tom Dent and John O'Neal of the Free Southern Theater, only to name a few.

And the main characteristic of the thinking of all of these writers, like the mainstream of Afro-American art today, is that its main impulse is anti-war and coincides with the world revolutionary impulse. To paraphrase John O. Killens, there is the general recognition among them that the Afro-American revolt is part and parcel of the world-wide freedom struggle. Both Killens and this speaker have reached this same conclusion based upon the findings and conclusions from National Conferences of Afro-American writers and artists held in the past three years in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Cleveland, at California and at Fiske University. The majority of writers who attend these conferences or who can be reached at local gatherings are concerned with depicting life as non-whites know it, none other than a continuous battle against exploitation, misery, hunger and color prejudice. They are conscious of race, that "It's Beautiful to be Black," and are seeking a new esthetic by delving into their past. They embrace their African roots in an attempt to understand the present and build for the future. They are fired with creating a full-fledged black hero who can break through the white myths and chauvinisms that hides the black man from himself. Like the

folktale tellers of the past, they aim to create a John Henry type hero who will tackle U.S. automation like John Henry did in the day of the steam drill. They are concerned with the forces that make the Afro-American different culturally and otherwise - but yet still an American. Their perspective of society is critical. They are turned off by the vast senseless social order which degrades blacks and dehumanizes whites. They see the present American society as producing the conditions which distort and destroy human relationships. They deplore anti-communism. They are concerned with changing the concepts of language and ask why are there 60 negative connotations to the word "black" in Rogets Thesaurus and about four for "white."

Here is an example of the thinking of a group of Afro-American artists from Chicago who formed themselves in the Chicago Organization for Black American Culture. Dozens of similarly oriented organizations have mushroomed throughout the nation.

"Our aim," they said "is to invest our works with the essence of our unique experience, calling upon our past history, from the shores of Africa to the West Indies, and in this hostile land. We are dedicated to arousing the energies of black people to an appreciation of themselves and their human possibilities. We will work toward the ultimate goal of bringing the black community indigenous art forms which reflect and clarify the black experience in America. To reflect the richness, depth and variety of Black History, its achievements and its possibilities for creativity we must find a new esthetic that which corresponds to our lives. It must have elements based on the man in the gutter and it must speak to him."

But there is a need, Langston Hughes once said, to do this in a balanced way, "to discover the human condition," said Saunders Redding, "without the preoccupation of repossessing a heritage that can distort reality. Nor make heroes out of heels." John Clarke of Freedomways says, "We must draw upon the universal values in the Negroes' experience just as Sean O'Casey and Sholem Aleichem drew upon the universal values in the experiences of the Irish and Jews. The next stage of Negro writing must not be a celebration of oppression but a celebration of survival in spite of it."

"Africa I have kept your memory Africa
You are inside me
Like the splinter in the wound
Like a guardian fetish in the center of the village

"Make me the stone in your sling
Make my mouth the lips of your wound
Make my knees the broken pillars of your abasement

And yet
I want to be of your race alone workers
peasants of all lands
uncountable nation in capitalist slavery
destiny ranges us shoulder to shoulder
repudiating the ancient maledictions of blood taboos

As the contradiction among features
Creates the harmony of the face
We proclaim the oneness of the suffering
and the revolt
of all peoples on all the face of the earth
And we mix the mortar of the age of brotherhood
Out of the dust of idols."

This was said by Jacques Roumain, a French-speaking black. And the words of Richard Wright are still true for today when he says: "This dramatic Marxist vision when consciously grasped endows the writer with a sense of dignity which no other vision can give. Ultimately, it restores to the writer his lost heritage, that is, his role as a creator of the world in which he lives, and as a creator of himself." I'm indicating that the new trend, among Afro-American artists, to lock black arms hurts neither a black or a white. Joseph Papp has been a pioneer in welcoming Afro-Americans in his New York Shakespeare Festival, casting them in all sorts of roles. But Broadway hasn't followed suit.

Seeking to get around these difficulties, Harry Belafonte is expanding his production company. He plans to produce plays on and off Broadway, based on Afro-American life. He is also setting up a foundation to give grants to Afro-American writers. Sidney Poitier is also planning to start a company. Bill Cosby of "I Spy" has started a motion picture production company. Tom Dent's Free Southern Theater has performed throughout the South. But the most interesting development for Afro-American actors and playwrights was the Ford Foundation grant, rumored at 1.8 million dollars that was awarded Dough Turner's and Bobby Hook's Negro Ensemble Theater. The theater will train and provide a home for Afro-American theatrical talents on all levels. Another development was Roger Furman's Harlem-based New Heritage Theater and Ron Milner, last week opened a play in Harlem's New Lafayette Theater. While the Greenwich Theater, which has always been hospitable to black playwrights will present two plays by the Nigerian dramatist Wole Soyinka. Needless to say, again, the problem facing many Afro-American playwrights is the problem of content, how best to reflect the spirit of these times, whether to concentrate on Negro themes, or venture like Lorraine Hansberry, in "The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window," to help illuminate the human condition. Some of the more advanced thinking playwrights believe that both should be done.

A main point cropping up at discussions of black artists is whether or not to accept government funding of projected theater ensembles, writers' groups or jazz workshops. Alice Childress and others say, definitely, yes. William Melvin Kelly warns that a man will then not be able to tell it like it is. Nevertheless, there is a growing trend to accept such funds and determination to keep the relationship between government and artist similar to that between the British government and British writers. There is virtually no censorship of government-funded creative works by Britons. American artists will have to fight for a similar relationship.

In the dance world Afro-Americans are making a fantastic mark. True, just a few, like Arthur Mitchell are dancing in major classical ballet. But others like Alvin Ailey, Donald McQuale, Carmen De Lavallade and more have created a completely new dance, based on African, jazz and modern themes. Some good things are happening in opera. In the cinema, Afro-Americans are receiving better roles and receiving Oscars, although the screen is dominated by Sidney Poitier. And no black woman has yet to overcome Hollywood's siren roles.

Perhaps the Afro-American's most vital and oppressed art form today is jazz. In many international circles jazz is known as North America's only original contribution to world culture. Yet, New York City, the reputed cultural capital of the West, is glutted with unemployed black jazz musicians. Part of the reason is that in these searing sixties, the general mood has caused a revolution in the concept of jazz playing. Many of the younger jazzmen are political in their thinking and assert that their new sound is an expression which approximates the experience of blacks in the city ghettos. Their music is marked by an emphasis on improvisations, contrasts of rhythms and sound rather than on melodic invention. And it reflects, they say, the full emotional range of blacks fighting for their freedom today. It also reflects an interest in the rhythms of Africa - the roots from which this music springs. A few of these musicians are conservatory-trained, like Cecil Taylor, Archie Shepp and Charlie Mingus. Their music reflects not only the souls of black folk but the influence of internationalist classicists like Sergei Prokofiev, Bela Bartok and Igor Stravinsky. Several musicians have banded into guilds, like the now defunct Jazz Composers' Guild, which attempted to break through the walls built by the critics, the nightclub and recording establishments, to keep this new sound out.

Black photographers face a similar situation. Mostly social conscious, they find scant markets for their works and have formed several photography guilds to force breakthroughs. Or they work in the anti-poverty program. Black painters and graphic artists are faring better these days due to the power of the guilds they have formed.

The overall character of the trend in art by Afro-Americans today is social conscious and conscious of blackness. As I have mentioned the debates indicate that concurrent with this new awareness, there is a tendency toward an exclusiveness or nationalism, if you will. But it is a tendency in flux that could in swift time be directed back of the nationwide fight for freedom and peace. One of the ways to get this ball rolling, in my opinion, is to convince leading black artists like Ossie Davis, John O. Killens, Ruby Dee, etc. to call for a National Conference of Afro-American Artists. This conference could concern itself with the financial and social problems black artists face in the nation. It could attempt to indicate an approach to the black

arts to the social and economic problems that Afro-American as well as whites in the nation face in general. It could call for greater ties with African artists, exchange of shows, writings, etc. It could call for a WPA type program to bring the arts into ghetto communities. It could call for cultural centers and complexes in the Harlems of the nation, which would serve as a training ground for Afro-Americans, to emerge in the mainstream of American culture. It could serve as an employment, dramatic and teaching center for unemployed Afro-American artists. It should become the first step in a call for a massive beautification building project in the nation's ghettos. Literary collections, like the Schomburg in Harlem, which is in danger of being shut down, should be absorbed by such a project and its library expanded to contain a complete music library of Negro and African music.

I am sorry that the cultural panel did not meet yesterday since there are other areas in American culture that blacks as well as whites feel needs to be improved. Panel discussion would have amplified my report.

Though there has been some improvement in the classical symphonic field and there are blacks in some of the major orchestras of the nation, it is still token. And it's not just because blacks can't get into the conservatories easily. The amount of black conductors can be counted on one hand. Dean Dixon, a veteran in the same rank as George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Eric Leinsdorf, is still an expatriate, who leads the major orchestras of Europe. Happily, there is one young Negro conductor from California. He is actually employed as an Assistant. But from time to time, if you can afford the ticket, you may see him leading an actual orchestra.

A similar situation exists in the case of performers. One would think that Andre Watts is the only leading black instrumentalist in the nation. But this is not at all so. I know personally that discrimination forces many black musicians out of this field. One such is the pianist Cecil Taylor who returned to the bosom of jazz and has produced such original works that he has been called a genius and can only find work in Europe.

A deplorable situation exists in advertising and also TV, despite the presence of Bill Cosby, Bobby Hooks and the three black newscasters who appear on the screen. In the height of the civil rights agitation more black faces could be seen peering from beneath the pages of the N.Y. Times' Advertising sections. But pick up that paper now and learn the truth.

I do think that a National Conference of Afro-American Artists can begin to set the wheels in motion that will start some of the changes that many black artists agree is necessary NOW.

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OO: New York

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Nov. 13, 1967

TO ALL DISTRICTS

Dear Comrades:

We are enclosing, as well as sending under separate cover, material from the conference on New Stages in the Struggle for Negro Freedom.

Please arrange that the extra copies you receive should be given to participants in the conference from your district.

The main report by Claude Lightfoot is now in the printshop and should be available to send to you within a week to 10 days. Some proposals for its utilization within the Party as well as in the mass movements will be sent you within a short time. In the meantime you can place initial orders with New Outlook distributors.

Comradely yours,

National Org. Department

100-442329-2434

The Afro-American in the Arts Today

By Douglass Archer

The characteristic perception of the Afro-American in the arts today is his realization that he is on the eve of a great fertile and revolutionary period. This awareness permeates every section of the arts where Blacks are creating. It is the subject of numerous conversations, debates, meetings and conferences. At least, in the case of Black writers, the most articulate body in the arts, a conscious character and direction is being developed for a new and powerful Afro-American renaissance. It is the content of that imminent renaissance and how some of us in this room may help influence it that I will talk about today.

Just to refresh our memories, there have been two great periods in the development of the Black artist in the U.S. One was during the Negro literary Renaissance period of the 1920's when white patrons helped bring forth giants like Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Alain Locke, Langston Hughes, Arna Bontemps, to name a few.

This Renaissance was centered in Harlem and concentrated on the thrust of the "New Negro," on historical themes, on an interest in Africa, on some symbolism and racial pride. "Black But Beautiful" was a main theme. In their poetry and novels the writers of this period broke with the polite mannerisms of past pioneers like Charles Chestnutt and expressed themselves in earthy and realistic terms.

The second surge forward came, after a short fallow period, during the days of the depression when the government acted as an art patron through the WPA. It was from this period, leading into the forties, that writers like Richard Wright, and again Langston Hughes, Willard Motley, Chester Himes, Roi Ottley, the young Lofton Mitchell, Alice Childress and others came forth. Though it centered in New York and Chicago this development was on a national scale. And the content of many of the works then changed from an emphasis on Africa or "Black But Beautiful" to a new interest in the history of the Negro people and a portrayal of their social and economic problems.

During the witchhunts of the Communists in the fifties, every level of society was affected and the arts-for-arts sake fad which pushed forward during that time, with few exceptions, affected black writers and artists. Ralph Ellison and his thinly veiled anti-communist novel, "The Invisible Man" was the Negro literary lion of the hour and many formerly outspoken black writers and artists kept silent or busied themselves with teaching or compiling anthologies.

The Negro Liberation struggle in the South soon burst forth upon the consciousness of the nation. It swept up many of the writers and artists who first spoke out during the beginning of the fifties like John O. Killens, Lofton Mitchell, William Branch, John A. Williams, Ossie Davis, and others who came later like Lerone Bennett Jr., William Denby, Lorraine Hansberry and James Baldwin. A whole new school of young writers emerged during this time of struggle in the North and South - a time which ushered in simultaneously, the freedom demands of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In literature artists like Douglass Turner Ward emerged. William Melvin Kelly, Le Roi Jones, Ron Milner, Rosa Guy, Calvin Hernton, Lennox Raphael, Tom Dent and John O'Neal of the Free Southern Theater, only to name a few.

And the main characteristic of the thinking of all of these writers, like the mainstream of Afro-American art today, is that its main impulse is anti-war and coincides with the world revolutionary impulse. To paraphrase John O. Killens, there is the general recognition among them that the Afro-American revolt is part and parcel of the world-wide freedom struggle. Both Killens and this speaker have reached this same conclusion based upon the findings and conclusions from National Conferences of Afro-American writers and artists held in the past three years in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Cleveland, at California and at Fiske University. The majority of writers who attend these conferences or who can be reached at local gatherings are concerned with depicting life as non-whites know it, none other than a continuous battle against exploitation, misery, hunger and color prejudice. They are conscious of race, that "It's Beautiful to be Black," and are seeking a new esthetic by delving into their past. They embrace their African roots in an attempt to understand the present and build for the future. They are fired with creating a full-fledged black hero who can break thru the white myths and chauvinisms that hides the black man from himself. Like the

folktale tellers of the past, they aim to create a John Henry type hero who will tackle U.S. automation like John Henry did in the day of the steam drill. They are concerned with the forces that make the Afro-American different culturally and otherwise - but yet still an American. Their perspective of society is critical. They are turned off by the vast senseless social order which degrades blacks and dehumanizes whites. They see the present American society as producing the conditions which distort and destroy human relationships. They deplore anti-communism. They are concerned with changing the concepts of language and ask why are there 60 negative connotations to the word "black" in Rogets Thesaurus and about four for "white."

Here is an example of the thinking of a group of Afro-American artists from Chicago who formed themselves in the Chicago Organization for Black American Culture. Dozens of similarly oriented organizations have mushroomed throughout the nation.

"Our aim," they said "is to invest our works with the essence of our unique experience, calling upon our past history, from the shores of Africa to the West Indies, and in this hostile land. We are dedicated to arousing the energies of black people to an appreciation of themselves and their human possibilities. We will work toward the ultimate goal of bringing the black community indigenous art forms which reflect and clarify the black experience in America. To reflect the richness, depth and variety of Black History, its achievements and its possibilities for creativity we must find a new esthetic that which corresponds to our lives. It must have elements based on the man in the gutter and it must speak to him."

But there is a need, Langston Hughes once said, to do this in a balanced way, "to discover the human condition," said Saunders Redding, "without the preoccupation of repossessing a heritage that can distort reality. Nor make heroes out of heels." John Clarke of Freedomways says, "We must draw upon the universal values in the Negroes' experience just as Sean O'Casey and Sholem Aleichem drew upon the universal values in the experiences of the Irish and Jews. The next stage of Negro writing must not be a celebration of oppression but a celebration of survival in spite of it."

"Africa I have kept your memory Africa
You are inside me
Like the splinter in the wound
Like a guardian fetish in the center of the village

"Make me the stone in your sling
Make my mouth the lips of your wound
Make my knees the broken pillars of your abasement

And yet
I want to be of your race alone workers
peasants of all lands
uncountable nation in capitalist slavery
destiny ranges us shoulder to shoulder
repudiating the ancient maledictions of blood taboos

As the contradiction among features
Creates the harmony of the face
We proclaim the oneness of the suffering
and the revolt
of all peoples on all the face of the earth
And we mix the mortar of the age of brotherhood
Out of the dust of idols."

This was said by Jacques Roumain, a French-speaking black. And the words of Richard Wright are still true for today when he says: "This dramatic Marxist vision when consciously grasped endows the writer with a sense of dignity which no other vision can give. Ultimately, it restores to the writer his lost heritage, that is, his role as a creator of the world in which he lives, and as a creator of himself." I'm indicating that the new trend, among Afro-American artists, to lock black arms hurts neither a black or a white. Joseph Papp has been a pioneer in welcoming Afro-Americans in his New York Shakespeare Festival, casting them in all sorts of roles. But Broadway hasn't followed suit.

Seeking to get around these difficulties, Harry Belafonte is expanding his production company. He plans to produce plays on and off Broadway, based on Afro-American life. He is also setting up a foundation to give grants to Afro-American writers. Sidney Poitier is also planning to start a company. Bill Cosby of "I Spy" has started a motion picture production company. Tom Dent's Free Southern Theater has performed throughout the South. But the most interesting development for Afro-American actors and playwrights was the Ford Foundation grant, rumored at 1.8 million dollars that was awarded Dough Turner's and Bobby Hook's Negro Ensemble Theater. The theater will train and provide a home for Afro-American theatrical talents on all levels. Another development was Roger Furman's Harlem-based New Heritage Theater and Ron Milner, last week opened a play in Harlem's New Lafayette Theater. While the Greenwich Theater, which has always been hospitable to black playwrights will present two plays by the Nigerian dramatist Wole Soyinka. Needless to say, again, the problem facing many Afro-American playwrights is the problem of content, how best to reflect the spirit of these times, whether to concentrate on Negro themes, or venture like Lorraine Hansberry, in "The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window," to help illuminate the human condition. Some of the more advanced thinking playwrights believe that both should be done.

A main point cropping up at discussions of black artists is whether or not to accept government funding of projected theater ensembles, writers' groups or jazz workshops. Alice Childress and others say, definitely, yes. William Melvin Kelly warns that a man will then not be able to tell it like it is. Nevertheless, there is a growing trend to accept such funds and determination to keep the relationship between government and artist similar to that between the British government and British writers. There is virtually no censorship of government-funded creative works by Britons. American artists will have to fight for a similar relationship.

In the dance world Afro-Americans are making a fantastic mark. True, just a few, like Arthur Mitchell are dancing in major classical ballet. But others like Alvin Ailey, Donald McQuale, Carmen De Lavallade and more have created a completely new dance, based on African, jazz and modern themes. Some good things are happening in opera. In the cinema, Afro-Americans are receiving better roles and receiving Oscars, although the screen is dominated by Sidney Poitier. And no black woman has yet to overcome Hollywood's siren roles.

Perhaps the Afro-American's most vital and oppressed art form today is jazz. In many international circles jazz is known as North America's only original contribution to world culture. Yet, New York City, the reputed cultural capital of the West, is glutted with unemployed black jazz musicians. Part of the reason is that in these searing sixties, the general mood has caused a revolution in the concept of jazz playing. Many of the younger jazzmen are political in their thinking and assert that their new sound is an expression which approximates the experience of blacks in the city ghettos. Their music is marked by an emphasis on improvisations, contrasts of rhythms and sound rather than on melodic invention. And it reflects, they say, the full emotional range of blacks fighting for their freedom today. It also reflects an interest in the rhythms of Africa - the roots from which this music springs. A few of these musicians are conservatory-trained, like Cecil Taylor, Archie Shepp and Charlie Mingus. Their music reflects not only the souls of black folk but the influence of internationalist classicists like Sergei Prokofiev, Bela Bartok and Igor Stravinsky. Several musicians have banded into guilds, like the now defunct Jazz Composers' Guild, which attempted to break through the walls built by the critics, the nightclub and recording establishments, to keep this new sound out.

Black photographers face a similar situation. Mostly social conscious, they find scant markets for their works and have formed several photography guilds to force breakthroughs. Or they work in the anti-poverty program. Black painters and graphic artists are faring better these days due to the power of the guilds they have formed.

The overall character of the trend in art by Afro-Americans today is social conscious and conscious of blackness. As I have mentioned the debates indicate that concurrent with this new awareness, there is a tendency toward an exclusiveness or nationalism, if you will. But it is a tendency in flux that could in swift time be directed back of the nationwide fight for freedom and peace. One of the ways to get this ball rolling, in my opinion, is to convince leading black artists like Ossie Davis, John O. Killens, Ruby Dee, etc. to call for a National Conference of Afro-American Artists. This conference could concern itself with the financial and social problems black artists face in the nation. It could attempt to indicate an approach in the black

arts to the social and economic problems that Afro-American as well as whites in the nation face in general. It could call for greater ties with African artists, exchange of shows, writings, etc. It could call for a WPA type program to bring the arts into ghetto communities. It could call for cultural centers and complexes in the Harlems of the nation, which would serve as a training ground for Afro-Americans, to emerge in the mainstream of American culture. It could serve as an employment, dramatic and teaching center for unemployed Afro-American artists. It should become the first step in a call for a massive beautification building project in the nation's ghettos. Literary collections, like the Schomburg in Harlem, which is in danger of being shut down, should be absorbed by such a project and its library expanded to contain a complete music library of Negro and African music.

I am sorry that the cultural panel did not meet yesterday since there are other areas in American culture that blacks as well as whites feel needs to be improved. Panel discussion would have amplified my report.

Though there has been some improvement in the classical symphonic field and there are blacks in some of the major orchestras of the nation, it is still token. And it's not just because blacks can't get into the conservatories easily. The amount of black conductors can be counted on one hand. Dean Dixon, a veteran in the same rank as George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Eric Leinsdorf, is still an expatriate, who leads the major orchestras of Europe. Happily, there is one young Negro conductor from California. He is actually employed as an Assistant. But from time to time, if you can afford the ticket, you may see him leading an actual orchestra.

A similar situation exists in the case of performers. One would think that Andre Watts is the only leading black instrumentalist in the nation. But this is not at all so. I know personally that discrimination forces many black musicians out of this field. One such is the pianist Cecil Taylor who returned to the bosom of jazz and has produced such original works that he has been called a genius and can only find work in Europe.

A deplorable situation exists in advertising and also TV, despite the presence of Bill Cosby, Bobby Hooks and the three black newscasters who appear on the screen. In the height of the civil rights agitation more black faces could be seen peering from beneath the pages of the N.Y. Times' Advertising sections. But pick up that paper now and learn the truth.

I do think that a National Conference of Afro-American Artists can begin to set the wheels in motion that will start some of the changes that many black artists agree is necessary NOW.

100 - 442529-0

CONFERENCE ON STRATEGY & TACTICS IN THE NEW STAGE OF
STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO LIBERATION
(October 14-15, 1967)

Report of Panel on Work in the White Community (Approved by
the Conference)

Summary of Proposals:

Introduction:

We are living in a period of great opportunities, but one fraught with great dangers. On the one hand, large sections of every major white community today are puzzled and concerned about what is happening now in America and what the future will bring. This concern arises not from a sudden ideological elevation of class conscious understanding, but rather for the most part has developed out of a new awareness of self-interest. Indicative of this development is the significant support for Negro candidates in some white communities.

On the other hand, however, the current period is pregnant with serious dangers of racial conflict and further disintegration of relations between white and black workers. The forces of reaction and racism have accelerated their campaign to promote fear and hysteria in already tense and confused white communities.

Broad areas of common concern exist between Negroes and whites. Any serious progress in any of these areas depends upon mutual struggle and unified actions. For instance, the trade union movement must be made to see that in many cases its very existence and its entire future depends upon a forthright and unambiguous fight in behalf of the Negro people; urban dwellers must be made aware that the future of our cities, arresting and reversing the decay of our urban centers, depends upon a reordering of national priorities, and that the interests of whites are one with Negroes in this struggle.

For our Party the present period offers a most serious challenge, one which can and must be met. To fulfill our responsibilities, however, we will have to make significant changes, and in this respect the role of white Communists in their communities becomes central.

1. To fulfill our role in leading this struggle the Party must undertake an intense and thorough ideological campaign in our own ranks.

We must seek to equip our members to act as initiators of struggle in every aspect of their lives--on the job, in their unions, in their neighborhoods, and social organizations. We must struggle to overcome all weaknesses which exist in our ranks on the question of white chauvinism and subtler forms of paternalism. Our goal must be to re-establish the basis for courageous action on the part of every member, not just in word, but in deed. We must become the initiators of mass struggles wherever we are.

2. An indispensable part of our work must be full and effective use of all available literature. But in addition to existing and regular publication of pamphlets and other materials, the Party should produce a new popular mass pamphlet or brochure dealing with the major issues facing the white community. This educational piece should be written in popular language for free mass distribution by every Party club, and should deal substantively with commonly held misconceptions and backward attitudes found among many white people. It should put forward avenues for building truly honest Negro-white unity on the basis of the self-interest of white working people.

3. On the national level a form must be utilized for coordination of national programs and through which black and white people can function together on the basis of true equality and mutual respect. Organizations such as ADA, CORE, etc. which at one time reflected a lower stage of development, no longer fully and adequately fulfill this role. There are today thousands of white people who at one time actively contributed to progressive activity, and who today are without such a form for their participation. NCNP and other organizations should be considered as

potential avenues for such participation.

A national defense organization such as the Civil Rights Congress of an earlier period, appears to be lacking today. We ought to give serious attention to building such an organization based on contemporary relations.

4. A crucial element of our work must be to open a second front in the anti-war movement. We must show predominantly white peace groups that the only basis of healthy black-white unity must be grounded in their making the struggle for Black Liberation as much a part of peace work as the issues of peace are today for the Black Liberation movement. This requires that we show arenas of common concern, like the issue of police brutality, and rally the anti-war movement to activity in defense of Negro rights.

5. The MFDP challenge to the Democratic Convention should be made a central national issue of struggle. Support for the challenge should be built in every community, both within and outside the Democratic party structure. Resolutions of support should be developed at each state Democratic convention. In addition, this activity should be utilized as a part of our campaign to urge Negro candidates to run wherever possible for Congressional and other positions.

6. A central arena for building black-white unity must be in our trade union work. The Party must take steps now in every district to select a plant, shop, or industry in which we take the lead in organizing the unorganized. There is no area of the country in which unorganized shops do not exist where Negroes, whites and other minority group peoples work side by side under the worst conditions.

Such a campaign on our part will also serve to revitalize the trade union movement while placing the question of a massive organizing drive in the South before every union for immediate action.

7. We must single out the building trades as a special area for a battle to open union ranks to all minority groups, breaking the tokenist policies of most unions in the crafts. Compensatory job-training and apprenticeship programs should be included as essential to any meaningful steps to be taken by such unions. We refer these proposals to the Trade Union Commission for detailed development and suggest that one union, such as the Plumbers, be selected for initial concentration.

8. The Party should place itself in the forefront of the battle to defend Rap Brown, the Fort Hood Three, Ron Lockman, the RAM group, and others who have been subject to frame-up prosecutions. We call for an immediate campaign in our press and the setting of control tasks for every club with a plan of check-up. This campaign must not be limited to fund-raising within the Party itself, but rather should be taken by the Party into every mass organization and the general community for attention.

9. An integral part of our Party activity on these issues must be the proper use and role of our press. The Worker and progressive nationality papers must make these issues much more fully a fundamental part of their coverage; they should serve as organs of education and agitation, and must be used by our Party as indispensable tools in our mass work. From a partisan working-class standpoint we must not fear to be publicly critical of liberals, trade unions and others when necessary in combating racism and subtler forms of chauvinism, including in the progressive movements.

10. Special attention should be given to our work among nationality groups, and notably in our work among youth in this field. Our effort in Jewish community work must be reshaped for a major campaign against racism at all levels. All too often our Party has narrowly seen this work as properly only for our older comrades. Such an emphasis is one-sided and narrow; our youth must be mobilized to enter this field as well.

11. In white community work a campaign should be initiated around the theme of "to save our cities." This campaign offers a common ground for self-interest organization which can serve as a broad base for developing Negro-white unity. The question of re-ordering national priorities to deal with urban development, taxes,

housing, community control, education, and transportation is central to this battle.

To make such a program meaningful, the Party must take this campaign into every neighborhood, mass organization, church and social group, etc. We must expose and combat the attempt of the ultra-Right to make demagogic use of these issues.

12. An integral part of the campaign for Negro-white unity and central to the struggle against racism in white communities is a fight to guarantee the defeat of Wallace in the '68 elections. We must take every step necessary to guarantee that Wallace and his supporters are isolated in every community and expose the racist, anti-union, anti-Communist nature of his appeal.

13. Students and the academic and intellectual community must play no small role in this struggle. A major battlefield against racism are the campuses and elementary and secondary schools of our country. A fight must be initiated in every school system and on every campus to guarantee open admissions policies, compensatory schooling, special scholarships, integrated teaching staffs, curriculum dealing with Negro and Labor history, and the elevation of minority group educators to positions of policy-making and authority at every level.

14. Our policy of industrial concentration has special significance for the struggle in the white community. If a breakthrough can be made in auto, steel, transportation, etc. among white workers on the special needs of Negro workers on the job and in their fullest voice in union policy-making, then these workers and unions can become a powerful lever to move the whole trade union movement and white working masses generally. Since these industries now have such a large proportion of black workers, such a breakthrough is both more necessary and possible.

In this respect we must make a special study with respect to the "industrial suburb," as a means by which Negroes are deprived of opportunities to enter the fields in which meaningful jobs are available.

Conclusion:

This report outlines only our initial tasks. It should serve as a basis in every district for immediate attention to the responsibility of our Party to make the fight against racism a fundamental and central part of our work in every field.

It is the feeling of this workshop that the Party should consider special conferences to further develop our work in this field.

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FBI

Date: 11/24/67

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Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, BUTTE (100-8414) (P*)
SUBJECT: CIRM
OO: New York

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D. [signature]

Enclosed for the Bureau are five and for New York one copy of a LHM.

The source referred to is [redacted] and [redacted]

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because data reported from these Informants could reasonably result in the identification of Confidential Informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

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G.C. Bishop
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[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
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BY: [redacted]
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Approved: *WMA* 348
Special Agent in Charge

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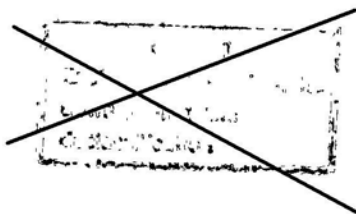
*In Reply, Please Refer to
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Butte, Montana, 59701
November 24, 1967

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on November 24, 1967, made available the following document:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



CONFERENCE ON STRATEGY & TACTICS IN THE NEW STAGE OF STRUGGLE FOR
NEGRO LIBERATION

Report from Panel on Techniques and Methods of Struggle
(October 15, 1967)

It was suggested that we discuss several specific questions under this general heading:

1. What is our attitude to the question of organized armed uprisings in the ghetto?
2. How do we view the problem of struggles for partial gains and their relation to reforms and revolution?
3. What are the variety of forms of struggle which can or should be used interchangeably and how do we go about changing the direction the struggle should take -- for example, the struggles against the monopolies and big business?

* * *

On the question of the use of violence in the ghetto, we as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is also affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore there can be no question of the right of the black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change. Our estimation of when violent means are called for is determined by time, place and circumstances and our position at any given moment strives to reflect the concrete situation and conditions which prevail at that moment.

We believe that in addition to the domestic problems and the international influences which are now being exerted upon the black movement in this country, which have given rise to the new emphasis that is now being placed upon armed struggle, this development is also related to other factors.

One is the growing lack of confidence by the black people in this country in their ability to achieve meaningful change through the democratic process. There is a growing lack of confidence in the white working class to overcome racism and join with black people in the struggle for meaningful alternatives. There is a lack of an alternative program to violence being put forward by other sections of the left which is radical enough to solve the problems of the ghettos. Among the leadership of the black movement, there is a lack of sufficient class consciousness and revolutionary tactics geared to U.S. conditions.

Now we believe that the only purpose for serious armed insurrection is the seizure of political power. And if it is not for this purpose, with a good possibility of victory, then armed insurrection should not be initiated. We believe that conspiratorial, terroristic actions which are not based upon a program aimed at improving the conditions of life for the masses and which do not receive the support of the masses, are reckless, adventurous, provocative and politically irresponsible toward the people. They invite reprisals upon the black community and therefore should be rejected.

We believe that terrorism within the black community which is directed against so-called Uncle Toms or others who refuse to go along with the program, so to speak, in addition to the above, is divisive and out of place given the political conditions which prevail today and likewise should be rejected.

We believe that the question is to organize in the community, to conduct political struggle around an ideology which will isolate people who are not acting in the interests of the community.

Although we do not advocate a policy of looting and arson, we believe that the uprisings themselves did do some good in terms of dramatizing the seriousness of the problems of the ghettos, that they did get the message over to many white Americans that they too can be affected by the especially oppressive conditions

which are being heaped upon black Americans and that the uprisings did provoke some responses in governmental circles (Stokes in Cleveland and others). We agree with those who say that the strength of the uprisings, looting and burning lies in their spontaneity and that once uprisings are put on an organized basis with an identified leadership, they become something else entirely and will be understood and approached as such and will be dealt with by the ruling class and the black structure as such.

We recognize that sometimes some things are done without a great deal of planning or talking about beforehand. For instance, trade unionists generally don't advocate sabotage or dumping of scabs, but under certain conditions of strike struggles workers react to what they believe to be in their best interests on the spot and at the moment.

Likewise, unless conditions are improved in the ghettos black people will undoubtedly continue to react to existing conditions and to instances of police harassment and brutality. If we have reason to believe that the black community is faced with the possibility of an onslaught, it is our responsibility to do anything that we can to prevent it, including going outside of that community to the white community and to the trade union movement and trying to get them to exercise the weight of their influence upon the power structure and those who will bring such a force to bear upon the black community to see to it that it does not take place.

We should do everything we can to prevent such an onslaught and preserve life within the black community.

Finally, in regard to violence, the difficult area and the legitimate one in our opinion is the area of self-defense which we support, including armed self-defense if necessary. We believe that under all circumstances the black people not only have the right but the responsibility to defend their persons, their homes and their community. And in line with this position we support the demand that black people police their own community.

The questions which must be posed always in regard to violence are:

What is the purpose of the violence? Are all the channels closed for achieving such goals through democratic or peaceful means? Against whom and what is the violence being directed? Will violence achieve the desired results? Do the masses of the people support the use of armed force as a means for redressing their grievances?

As we see it today, the overwhelming majority of the American people, including the black people, are not yet convinced that the system must be changed, much less by armed force. We therefore reject today the organizing of armed uprisings in the black community.

On the second question: The relationship between partial gains, that is reforms, and revolution. We see the relationship between reform and revolution being related to organization and consciousness. We feel that reforms are important and necessary steps in the struggle for revolutionary change but in themselves are not decisive. We also recognize that quite often reforms are granted by the power structure in order to stop the movement, to blunt its direction and to dissipate the forces fighting for change. Therefore the struggle must not cease with the winning of partial gains or reforms but must continue on another and higher level, if the victory is not to be dissipated and diluted. We should attempt to draw lessons from each struggle and to follow up on each victory with demands and program which go even further towards improving the conditions of our people and to make it clear at all times that it is the popular mass struggle on the part of the people for reforms which accounts for whatever gains are won.

We therefore feel the need to establish and be guided by certain principles.

1. We should not project program only on the basis of what is felt to be what the power structure will grant at any given moment. Demands must flow out of what the community needs and this gets us into the area of radical demands today. Thus the black community is in an economic crisis and only radical demands can begin to meet its needs. We must fight for the principle that government is responsible to

provide work at union wages for all who seek it and cannot find it in private industry. While we support programs for vocational training with adequate compensation during the period of training, we must reject the concept that unless human beings are tailored to technological needs they must be dumped on the scrap heap. On the contrary, we must insist that work opportunities be tailored to meet human needs, that jobs be provided to employ the skills and capacity, limited as they might be, of those seeking work. The ghetto's need for homes, schools, hospitals and other public facilities is so enormous that any appreciable effort to meet them can create the conditions for fulfilling this demand.

Finally, on this point, we should place our emphasis on reforms that will weaken monopoly capital and effectively strengthen and expand the democratic power of our people. Public ownership of utilities, insurance, people's banks, federal farm funds and long-term low-interest loans for people's producers and consumers coops. Nationalization with guarantee of public control, with surplusses going to the people. Community control over community institutions with guarantees of community administration of federal and state funding programs.

We say that reforms are needed and necessary, first of all for the actual preservation of life itself. In many communities conditions are so urgent in the ghetto, especially in the South that the winning of a welfare case, a food grant, medical aid, can mean the difference between life and slow death. Secondly, we must fight for immediate gains and reforms because mass organization initially takes place around local issues which are viable, pressing for programs which offer realizable demands and the possibility of immediate victory. Third, the struggles around partial gains and immediate demands not only organize the people but also educate them in many ways. Victories build confidence in their ability to win and exposes those who are standing in their way.

To relate partial demands with more radical long-term demands, it is always advisable to project a program in a given area composed of several points - a multi-point program - all of which lead in the direction of a more complete solution to the problem, going from the most urgent to the most radical. In this way the people will not lose sight of the long-term goals being fought for.

Finally, when we speak of revolutionary change in the system, we repeat the point made in the Party Draft Program:

"People are less disposed to attempt new forms of government until they are persuaded through experience that the old forms cannot right its evils. Such a realization can only come about by putting the old forms to the test, that is, by fighting for the maximum attainable within the present system. When the masses become convinced that the system is not what it is cracked up to be; that they cannot in fact exert their democratic will, then they will see the need to change the system and create one that can meet their needs."

On the third question: How do we go about changing the direction the struggle should take?

First of all, it is absolutely necessary that we be on the scene and a part of the struggle itself but that we also be there with a program. Experience has shown that it is not enough to constantly pour cold water on others' programs without offering a more viable alternative. To develop program for the black community today means that we have to develop in many cases a dual program--one which is aimed at building black control of its own community, over the institutions which operate there, and one which relates to more radical demands which must be fought for and instituted by both black and white Americans. The character of such a program must be radical.

Our main contribution in the black community today, after having injected program into the struggle, is to project a class analysis of the society in which we live and to expose the main enemy of the people, to develop a class consciousness among black working people, to develop a struggle aimed at making the democratic machinery function more effectively for the people and to fight for political representation which will be responsive to the people.

We believe that the division of black-white responsibility has to be developed and perfected, that black people will gain confidence in white people's willingness to join the struggle and overcome their racism only on the basis of actual participation in the struggle. That in order to strengthen the influence of Marxist ideas in the movement, it is necessary to develop Left forms for education and action within the black community.

New times, new issues, new methods of struggle sometimes require new forms and we should not be afraid to experiment with new forms simply because they are not traditional or have not been tested in practice. In the development of forms the intent is to bring ideological and organizational influence of our Party to bear upon the mass movement, to more effectively participate in struggles that are already in motion, to project issues and initiate struggle not presently being conducted and to recruit more advanced, active militants into our Party.

The forms that we are proposing are both mass forms and Left forms.

1. We see the need to call together existing organizations in the black community in some form of council or congress so that they can exercise a greater collective influence upon the community as a whole by agreeing upon joint struggle around those issues on which they can agree. Example - Los Angeles. We think that the boycott - consumer, school and other forms of boycott - should be used and expanded. We should advocate work stoppages around basic issues of protest (Detroit Plan).

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Support and help to build local and regional conferences of black youth to culminate in a National Youth Congress (referred to Youth Commission).

Explore possibility of supporting summer camp movement - family, young adult and teenagers.

#####

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 6* -

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

CONFERENCE ON STRATEGY & TACTICS IN THE NEW STAGE OF STRUGGLE FOR
NEGRO LIBERATION

Report from Panel on Techniques and Methods of Struggle
(October 15, 1967)

It was suggested that we discuss several specific questions under this general heading:

1. What is our attitude to the question of organized armed uprisings in the ghetto?
2. How do we view the problem of struggles for partial gains and their relation to reforms and revolution?
3. What are the variety of forms of struggle which can or should be used interchangeably and how do we go about changing the direction the struggle should take -- for example, the struggles against the monopolies and big business?

* * *

On the question of the use of violence in the ghetto, we as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is also affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore there can be no question of the right of the black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change. Our estimation of when violent means are called for is determined by time, place and circumstances and our position at any given moment strives to reflect the concrete situation and conditions which prevail at that moment.

We believe that in addition to the domestic problems and the international influences which are now being exerted upon the black movement in this country, which have given rise to the new emphasis that is now being placed upon armed struggle, this development is also related to other factors.

One is the growing lack of confidence by the black people in this country in their ability to achieve meaningful change through the democratic process. There is a growing lack of confidence in the white working class to overcome racism and join with black people in the struggle for meaningful alternatives. There is a lack of an alternative program to violence being put forward by other sections of the Left which is radical enough to solve the problems of the ghettos. Among the leadership of the black movement, there is a lack of sufficient class consciousness and revolutionary tactics geared to U.S. conditions.

Now we believe that the only purpose for serious armed insurrection is the seizure of political power. And if it is not for this purpose, with a good possibility of victory, then armed insurrection should not be initiated. We believe that conspiratorial, terroristic actions which are not based upon a program aimed at improving the conditions of life for the masses and which do not receive the support of the masses, are reckless, adventurous, provocative and politically irresponsible toward the people. They invite reprisals upon the black community and therefore should be rejected.

We believe that terrorism within the black community which is directed against so-called Uncle Toms or others who refuse to go along with the program, so to speak, in addition to the above, is divisive and out of place given the political conditions which prevail today and likewise should be rejected.

We believe that the question is to organize in the community, to conduct political struggle around an ideology which will isolate people who are not acting in the interests of the community.

Although we do not advocate a policy of looting and arson, we believe that the uprisings themselves did do some good in terms of dramatizing the seriousness of the problems of the ghettos, that they did get the message over to many white Americans that they too can be affected by the especially oppressive conditions

100-442527-2435

which are being heaped upon black Americans and that the uprisings did provoke some responses in governmental circles (Stokes in Cleveland and others). We agree with those who say that the strength of the uprisings, looting and burning lies in their spontaneity and that once uprisings are put on an organized basis with an identified leadership, they become something else entirely and will be understood and approached as such and will be dealt with by the ruling class and the black structure as such.

We recognize that sometimes some things are done without a great deal of planning or talking about beforehand. For instance, trade unionists generally don't advocate sabotage or dumping of scabs, but under certain conditions of strike struggles workers react to what they believe to be in their best interests on the spot and at the moment.

Likewise, unless conditions are improved in the ghettos black people will undoubtedly continue to react to existing conditions and to instances of police harassment and brutality. If we have reason to believe that the black community is faced with the possibility of an onslaught, it is our responsibility to do anything that we can to prevent it, including going outside of that community to the white community and to the trade union movement and trying to get them to exercise the weight of their influence upon the power structure and those who will bring such a force to bear upon the black community to see to it that it does not take place.

We should do everything we can to prevent such an onslaught and preserve life within the black community.

Finally, in regard to violence, the difficult area and the legitimate one in our opinion is the area of self-defense which we support, including armed self-defense if necessary. We believe that under all circumstances the black people not only have the right but the responsibility to defend their persons, their homes and their community. And in line with this position we support the demand that black people police their own community.

The questions which must be posed always in regard to violence are:

What is the purpose of the violence? Are all the channels closed for achieving such goals through democratic or peaceful means? Against whom and what is the violence being directed? Will violence achieve the desired results? Do the masses of the people support the use of armed force as a means for redressing their grievances?

As we see it today, the overwhelming majority of the American people, including the black people, are not yet convinced that the system must be changed, much less by armed force. We therefore reject today the organizing of armed uprisings in the black community.

On the second question: The relationship between partial gains, that is reforms, and revolution. We see the relationship between reform and revolution being related to organization and consciousness. We feel that reforms are important and necessary steps in the struggle for revolutionary change but in themselves are not decisive. We also recognize that quite often reforms are granted by the power structure in order to stop the movement, to blunt its direction and to dissipate the forces fighting for change. Therefore the struggle must not cease with the winning of partial gains or reforms but must continue on another and higher level, if the victory is not to be dissipated and diluted. We should attempt to draw lessons from each struggle and to follow up on each victory with demands and program which go even further towards improving the conditions of our people and to make it clear at all times that it is the popular mass struggle on the part of the people for reforms which accounts for whatever gains are won.

We therefore feel the need to establish and be guided by certain principles.

1. We should not project program only on the basis of what is felt to be what the power structure will grant at any given moment. Demands must flow out of what the community needs and this gets us into the area of radical demands today. Thus the black community is in an economic crisis and only radical demands can begin to meet its needs. We must fight for the principle that government is responsible to

provide work at union wages for all who seek it and cannot find it in private industry. While we support programs for vocational training with adequate compensation during the period of training, we must reject the concept that unless human beings are tailored to technological needs they must be dumped on the scrap heap. On the contrary, we must insist that work opportunities be tailored to meet human needs, that jobs be provided to employ the skills and capacity, limited as they might be, of those seeking work. The ghetto's need for homes, schools, hospitals and other public facilities is so enormous that any appreciable effort to meet them can create the conditions for fulfilling this demand.

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A special budget be set aside for work in the black community.

Support and help to build local and regional conferences of black youth to culminate in a National Youth Congress (referred to Youth Commission).

Explore possibility of supporting summer camp movement - family, young adult and teenagers.

#####

FBI

Date: 11/24/67

Transmit the following in _____

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED~~
~~BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)~~

Via AIRTEL

DATE: 6-14-85

1678 REF

(Priority)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8-29-84
3-2-83
Classified by 3672/AT/106
Declassify on: OADR
Per release (SCIC)
David Garraw

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (P)

SUBJECT: CIRM

Bufile 100-442529

Chicago file 100-41324

COMINFIL OF SCIC

IS-C

Bufile 100-438794

Chicago file [redacted]

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

~~CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 DATE 11-24-87 FOR DECLASSIFICATION 54688 73718 80314~~

Pushing

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for New York and Atlanta three copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. Two copies each are also being furnished to Columbia, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Richmond.

The first source referred to in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] who furnished information on 11/16/67. The second source is [redacted] and the third source is [redacted].

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encls. 3) (RM)
2 - Columbia (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Detroit (Encls. 2) (RM)
3 - New York (Encls. 3) (RM)
2 - Pittsburgh (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Richmond (Encls. 2) (RM)
7 - Chicago

REC 16

- 1 - 157-2318 (GOLDEN FRINKS)
1 - 100-41433 (JESSE GRAY)
1 - 157-1667 (HOSEA WILLIAMS)

RAC/1a
(24)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

HOW FORW: Walter 11/28/67

DATE FORW

BY: Walter

Sent

Special Agent in Charge

UCC AT-LHM 806940

44-527-2436
12 NOV 27 1967
CONFIDENTIAL

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-442529-794

b3
b7D
b7E

CG 100-41324
[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

With the exception of JESSE GRAY, no effort was made to characterize the individuals mentioned in this LHM other than to identify them as members of SCLC since the Chicago Division is not in possession of information to characterize them subversively. Recipient offices should submit LHM characterizing individuals reported in attendance, if appropriate, and make reference to endorsed LHM datelined Washington, D.C. ~~4~~

LHM datelined Washington, D.C., to further protect
[redacted] ~~4~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

CG 100-41324

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Dateline Washington, D.C.

NOV 24 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Classified by 32-85 29721/CL
Declassify on: OADRPer release (SCIC)
David G. [REDACTED]~~CONFIDENTIAL~~COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - CCLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 6-11-85 16782/CLCOMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.~~

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on November 9, 1967, a meeting of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) staff workers was held at Atlanta, Georgia, and among those attending were:

Golden Frinks, West VirginiaJesse Gray, New York City, New YorkRalph Henry, Chicago, IllinoisHosea Williams, Atlanta, Georgia

Bob Strom, with the West Side Organization (WSO),
Chicago, Illinois, a militant civil rights organization located
on Chicago's west side.

Dr. Robert Greene, Professor at Michigan State
University, East Lansing, Michigan.

Samantha Clark, believed to be from Virginia.

A discussion occurred concerning the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) and the role of the "Black Caucus" group as a part of the NCNP. The pros and cons of continuing participation in these groups were discussed. The attempt by the Communist Party in Chicago to take over control of the "Black Caucus" group was discussed in depth. It was decided to resist this take over with whatever means is necessary since the activity of the Communist Party in connection with the NCNP convention in Chicago

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

33 DEC 30 1970

ENCLOSURE

100-442529-2430

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

during August and September, 1967, was openly reported in the newspapers. It was agreed that difficulty could be expected in raising funds in the future if SCIC were associated with the Communist Party through mutual participation in the NCNP. It was finally decided to continue to take part in these groups, at least until after the Democratic National Convention scheduled to be held in Chicago during August, 1968. X

Later the same day a group from Chicago conferred with Hosea Williams. They advised Williams of the acute shortage of funds in WSO, Chicago, and requested that the Atlanta SCIC assist in this matter. Williams replied that no additional funds were available at this time. He pointed out that the "benefit programs" featuring such nationally known entertainers as Harry Belafonte and Aretha Franklin held during October, 1967, in Chicago, Illinois, Cleveland, Ohio, and the states of California and Texas, were a financial flop and resulted in additional expenses rather than additional funds. Williams promised to furnish the Chicago group with a list of names of prospective financial contributors; however, he did not make this list immediately available. X

Hosea Williams announced that only those SCIC members active in the Adult Education Program would proceed from Atlanta, Georgia, to Frogmore, South Carolina, for the conference to be held there the following week. Others present in Atlanta were instructed to return to their respective cities on November 10, 1967. Among those who proceeded to Frogmore were Dr. Robert Greene and Samantha Clark. A total of about 60 persons were to attend the meeting in Frogmore. Williams advised that another meeting at Frogmore was being scheduled for the period from November 27, 1967, through December 1, 1967. All SCIC staff members from all over the country are to be there and it is expected that several staff members will be terminated due to the lack of funds. X

Concerning Jesse Gray, a second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on November 20, 1958, that Jesse Gray had been the organizer for the Harlem Region of the Communist Party (CP) X but this position had been terminated in November, 1958. X (u) X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

On January 24, 1964, a third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that according to William L. Patterson, Chairman of the New York District of the CP, Jesse Gray was no longer a member of the CP but is friendly to the CP. (c) (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - [redacted]
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Date: November 29, 1967
To: Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence
Department of the Army
Attention: Director of Security
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Subject: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

The following was furnished by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past.

716690
The New York District of the Communist Party, USA, has set up a task force to meet in early December, 1967, to work out a plan to bring about a racially integrated work force in the building trades which will construct a New York State office building in the vicinity of 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, National Negro Commission, is expected to lead this task force.

Lightfoot has stated he expects to have demonstrations conducted in the vicinity of the construction site. Sources who are members of the task force have advised that there are no plans for demonstrations and believe that the only activity the Communist Party, USA, will engage in on its own will be to pass out literature at the construction site.

As soon as additional information is available, you will be advised.

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

100-442529-2487

RCP:est
(9)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence
Department of the Army

1 - Mr. John Doar
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Office of Special Investigations
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

b7D

1 - Director, Naval Investigative Service 716697

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal identities of the sources [] and [] who are of continuing value and such revelation could result in damage to the national defense.

Data extracted from Pittsburgh airtel 11/21/67, captioned "Claude Mack Lightfoot, IS - C, National Committee," and New York airtel 11/22/67, captioned "Cirm."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 11/22/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

b7D

Re Bureau airtel, 11/21/67, captioned, "CLAUDE MACK LIGHTFOOT; IS-C".

[] and [] have advised that the New York District, CPUSA, has set up a task force to meet in early December, to work out a plan to help effect an integrated work force in the building trades which will construct a New York State office building in the vicinity of 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT will probably head the task force. No plans have been made for any demonstrations. Informants feel the most NYD, CPUSA will do on its own will be to pass out literature.

NYO will follow through informants on task force.

- 1-904 9HP
- 4 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-108) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - 1 - New York (100-98699) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (41)
 - 1 - New York (100-153735) (41)

JJK:gmd
(7)

Bishop

100-442529-531
12-4
12 NOV 24 1967

INT. SEC.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-108-

b6
b7c

FBI

Date: 11/28/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND

CIRM

BuFile 100-442529

RH File 100-10310

COMINFIL OF SCLC

IS - C

BuFile 100-438794

RH File 100-10241

DECLASSIFIED BY 367 JRT/CK
ON 3-2-83

Per release (SCLC)

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/ck

REASON FOR EXTENSION

DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION

11-28-87
54686, 7354

Re Chicago airtel to the Bureau 11/24/67, which enclosed LHM containing the name SAMANTHA CLARK and requesting that LHM characterizing this individual be submitted.

For the information of Bureau and interested offices, Richmond has no prior information concerning one SAMANTHA CLARK. It is noted that this individual was only "believed" to be from Virginia and Richmond has no data by which she can be identified.

4-Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
2-Atlanta (100-5718) (REGISTERED MAIL)
2-New York (100-153735) (REGISTERED MAIL)
2-Richmond
(1 - 100-10310)
(1 - 100-10241)
RET:mbd
(10)

REC-77 100-442529-2438

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-14-80 BY SP4 JRM/ck

16 NOV 30 1967

54688 80514 73514

55 DEC 348

7196

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

CONFIDENTIAL

C. C. - Bishop

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-438714

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *Idm*
SAC, PITTSBURGH

DATE: 12/8/67

SUBJECT: CIRM
BUFILE 100-442529
NEW YORK FILE 100-153735
PITTSBURGH FILE 100-15125

COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
BUFILE 100-438794
NEW YORK FILE 100-149194
ATLANTA FILE 100-5718
PITTSBURGH FILE 100-15026

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 11/24/67,
captioned as above, enclosing LHM.

Referenced LHM indicated that GOLDEN FRINKS from
West Virginia attended a meeting of Southern Christian
Leadership Conference staff workers on 11/9/67, held at
Atlanta, Ga.

Pittsburgh indices are negative concerning GOLDEN
FRINKS.

4-Bureau (RM)
2-Atlanta (RM)
2-New York (RM)
2-Pittsburgh

LMC/alb
(10)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-14-80 BY SP4 JML/d

REC 8



DEC 11 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DEC 11 1967

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b6
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FBI

Date: 11/27/67

~~SECRET~~

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
Bufile 100-438794
NYfile 100-149194
Atfile 100-5718

CIRM

Bufile 100-442529
NYfile 100-153735
Atfile 100-6670

Classified by 8922 TK/let
Declassify on: OADR
Garrow/Ksch

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 6-11-85 1678 RFP/let

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP.4 JRM/let
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 11-27-87
54688
73518
845.4

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM 11/16/67 captioned as
above.

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and eight
copies, and for New York three, of LHM.

Source referred to is [redacted]

Source utilized to characterize STANLEY LEVISON
is [NY 694-S-15] (U)

Information referred to in the enclosed LHM was
obtained by source [redacted]

- 4- Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
(3 - 100-438794)
(1 - 100-442529)
3- New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
6- Atlanta
(1 - 100-5718)
(1 - 100-6670)
(1 - 100-5586) (M. L. KING, JR.) (13)

100-442529-
NOT RECORDED
165 DEC 4 1967

(1 - 157-257) (RALPH ABERNATHY)
AGS:jhs

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved: [redacted] 1037
Special Agent in Charge

Sent ~~SECRET~~ M Per

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442529-2020

AT 100-5718
AT 100-6670

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS
SECURITY. INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] MUST
BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND
CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

(U)

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~
because it contains information furnished by [NY 694-S*] ~~IS~~
It is felt this classification is necessary in order not
to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in
furnishing information of this nature. ~~✗~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

Atlanta, Georgia
November 27, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

~~8-29-84
Classified by 8972 TDK/eff
Declassify on: OADR~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On November 21, 1967, a confidential source
advised that [REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded From Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-442529

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPT. OF JUSTICE REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRG)
DATE: 6-11-85 1628 JF/ALC

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. [In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.] (S) (U)

2 *

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
November 27, 1967

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Atlanta Letterhead Memorandum dated
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 12/5/67

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

CIRM

BuFile 100-442529

NYfile 100-153735

Atfile 100-6670

COMINFIL OF SCLC

IS - C

Bufile 100-438794

NYfile 100-149194

CGfile [redacted]

Atfile 100-5718

3-2-83
Classified by 36762710H
Declassify on: OADR
Per release (SCLC)
David Garrow

CLASSIFIED AND

EXTENDED BY S. J. [redacted]

REASON FOR EXTENSION

FORM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR

DECLASSIFICATION 12-5-87

b3
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b7E

Re Chicago airtel and LHM (datelined Washington, D. C.) 11/24/67 and Richmond airtel to Bureau 11/28/67, captioned as above.

Re LHM refers to one SAMANTHA CLARK, believed to be from Virginia, as being in attendance at a meeting of SCLC staff workers held in Atlanta 11/9/67. X 4

On 12/4/67 [redacted] advised he had no knowledge as to any details pertaining to the aforementioned meeting of SCLC staff workers. Informant advised he was not acquainted with an individual by the name of SAMANTHA CLARK. He said in all probability MRS. SEPTIMA P. CLARK, a member of the SCLC Teacher Training Staff, may have attended the aforementioned meeting. (S)

In view of informant's observation and based upon prior information, Atlanta is of the opinion that in all

- 4- Bureau (RM)
 - (3 - 100-442529)
 - (1 - 100-438794)
- 2- Chicago (RM)
- 2- Columbia (RM)
- 2- Detroit (RM)
- 2- New York (RM)

- 2- Pittsburgh (RM)
- 2- Richmond
- 4- Atlanta
 - (1 - 100-6670)
 - (1 - 100-5718)

(1 - 157-418) (SEPTIMA CLARK)
AGS:jhs (20)

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b7D

AT 10066670
AT 100-5718

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

probability the SAMANTHA CLARK mentioned in referenced communications is MRS. SEPTIMA P. CLARK who is believed to currently reside in Charleston, S. C. ~~X~~

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY. INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ~~X~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRG)
DATE: 6-18-85 16782FP K/

8-30-84
Classified by 8972 TK/kl
Declassify on: OADR

FBI
Date: 12/21/67

Transmit the following in

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Type in plaintext or code)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Via (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

Classified by 6580
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 11/18/77

COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
Bufile 100-438794
NYfile 100-149194
CGfile [redacted]
Atfile 100-5718

CIRM
Bufile 100-442529
NYfile 100-153735
Atfile 100-6670

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF [redacted] DATE 12/15/77 JEF/BJD
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 12 SP4 JDM/ML
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 12-21-87 80514 73516

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b7E

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and eight copies, for New York two and for Chicago two, of LHM.

Information set forth in enclosed LHM is predicated upon recent comments by [redacted] which have come to informant's attention.

(U) Source utilized to characterize STANLEY LEVISON is NY 694-S* (S) sources utilized to characterize HARRY WACHTEL are NY 1190-S* and anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA JOHN J. WALSH 7/19/50 at WFO re 'NLG; IS - C'.

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY. INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] MUST BE CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted]

The enclosed LHM has been classified Secret

- 4- Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM) 2- New York (Enc. 2) (RM) 180 JAN 2 1968
(3 - 100-438794) 2- Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529) 4- Atlanta (1 - 100-5718)
(1 - 100-6670)

Approved: 57 JAN 10 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent AGS:jns
(12)

AT 100-5718

AT 100-6670

(U)

~~SECRET~~

because it contains information furnished by NY 694-S* ~~(S)~~
It is felt this classification is necessary in order not
to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in
furnishing information of this nature. ~~(S)~~

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

Atlanta, Georgia
December 21, 1967

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (PAG)
DATE: 6-11-85 1678 PEP/KH
6 Annals/SLC~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

~~8-30-84
Classified by 8975 DKE/KH
Declassify on: OADR~~

~~Classified by 1000
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 10/18/97~~

On December 19, 1967, a confidential source
advised that [REDACTED]

b6
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Source has previously advised that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]
DATE 12/15/77 1567/ML~~

~~SECRET
GROUP 1
Excluded From Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

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ENCLOSURE

8.1.78w
CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/ld
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR 12-21-87
DECLASSIFICATION
546881 73516 80514
100-442-1



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
December 21, 1967

Title . COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Letterhead Memorandum at Atlanta
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 12/20/67.

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-86)
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12125)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS
IS - C
(CINAL)

Re SAC Letter 67-48 dated 8/8/67; Baltimore airtel to Bureau, 12/13/67; Bureau airtel to Baltimore, 12/15/67.

Above referenced SAC Letter requests all offices to remain alert to plans of the Party for establishing a daily newspaper in the U. S. and furnishing such information if obtained to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination.

Enclosed for the Bureau with this airtel are 17 copies of an LHM captioned "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE MEETING, 23 WEST 26th STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 17, 1967". Copies of the LHM are being forwarded with this airtel to New York.

The source used in the LHM is [REDACTED].

10 - Bureau (100-3-86) (Enc. 17) (REGIS. MAIL)

- (1 - 100-422089 (CINAL)
- (1 - 100-3-68 (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)
- (1 - 100-3-69 (ORG.)
- (1 - 100-3-76 (YOUTH)
- (1 - 100-441164 (WEB DUBOIS)
- (1 - 100-3-72 (POLITICAL ACT.)

8 - New York (Enc. 8)

- (2 - 100- (PAMPHLETS & PUB.)
- (1 - 100- (MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 - 100- (CIRM)
- (1 - 100- (CP, USA ORG.)
- (1 - 100- (CP YOUTH)
- (1 - 100- (WEB DUBOIS)
- (1 - 100- (POLITICAL ACT.)

4 - Baltimore (100-12125)
(1 - 100-19876 (CINAL)
(1 - 100-12464 (ORG.)

RCN:df1
(22)

Approved: F 14 Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-86-319

CARBON COPY

100-442529-
NOT RECORDED
78 JAN 3 1968

BA 100-12125

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" since disclosure of information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential source of great value and compromise future effectiveness.

The LHM is being shown as having emanated from Washington, D. C., in order to further protect informant.

Detailed informant reports will be disseminated to all interested offices.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.

December 19, 1967

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION
COMMITTEE MEETING,
23 WEST 26TH STREET, NEW YORK,
NEW YORK, DECEMBER 17, 1967.

A confidential source on December 18, 1967, advised that on December 17, 1967, the Communist Party (CP), USA, held a National Organization Committee Meeting at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York. The above address is the headquarters for the CP, USA.

The morning session of the committee meeting got underway about 10:30 A.M. with the following CP members present:

DANNY RUBIN, Chairman, National Organizational Committee.

HELEN WINTER, RUBIN's assistant.

SIDNEY TAYLOR, CP District Leader from New England.

MIKE STEIN

SANDY PATRINOS, CP District Leader from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

JACOB GREEN, CP District Leader from Maryland.

RUBIN advised those present that the main meeting of the National Organization Committee would be held after lunch and that the morning session would consist of a "get together" for east-coast district leaders to bring them up to date on matters of interest to the Party.

RUBIN then advised that the CP, USA, had prepared a 32-page pamphlet entitled, "The Arlington Case," which

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~~100-442529-
ENCLOSURE~~

~~62~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

concerned ROBERT THOMPSON, deceased CP, USA National Leader, who had won the Distinguished Service Cross during World War II as a soldier in the United States Army. RUBIN reminded the others that THOMPSON had been refused burial in the Arlington National Cemetery. RUBIN stated that the CP, USA was interested in distributing this pamphlet as widely as possible either through sale or distribution.

RUBIN then reminded those present that the CP, USA was extremely interested in backing a peace candidate for the presidency during the 1968 elections. A discussion then followed during which it was brought out that there seemed to be no strong peace candidate for the presidency as yet in sight and that no particular efforts had been made by any of the CP Districts to form a strong peace organization.

RUBIN then stated that the most important matter for discussion during the morning concerned the publication by the CP, USA of a daily newspaper.

The representatives of the various CP districts present then discussed the publication of a daily newspaper. They all felt it was going to be extremely hard to get out such a publication and indicated that at the present time, they were not having a great deal of success distributing The Worker.

The Worker is an east-coast Communist newspaper.

HELEN WINTER then said that she had been in Detroit, Michigan recently in connection with selling The Worker, and the Party in Michigan had met and talked about the publication of a daily Marxist newspaper. HELEN WINTER said that she had advised them that the CP, USA was going to put out such a publication in the spring. HELEN WINTER said that the CP members in Michigan felt that the CP, USA, would have to hire someone to sell a daily Marxist publication and that this individual would have to go to colleges, libraries, and book shops in order to sell such a publication.

A discussion then followed during which each of the district leaders present indicated that the various districts would not be very successful in selling a daily Marxist newspaper.

RUBIN then advised them that a daily Marxist publication was being brought out by the CP, USA in the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

spring and that on January 6, 1968, there would be a CP conference in New York to plan the publication of such a paper.

MIKE STEIN then stated that the national leadership of the CP, USA should set out directives concerning the new publication in The Worker so that the various CP districts could read them and have some idea as to what they would have to do in connection with the getting out of such a publication.

After further discussion, RUBIN admitted that he did not have all the answers and despite the feeling of the various districts that a daily publication would not be successful, could only state that it would be published in the spring. RUBIN said that after the January 6, 1968, CP conference on the new publication, it would be the subject of discussion at a National Committee Meeting to be held in the latter part of January, 1968.

The morning session ended at about 12:15 P.M.

The afternoon session of the National Organization Committee Meeting got underway at about 1:00 P.M. with 18 CP members present. The following were identified:

DANNY RUBIN	ARNOLD JOHNSON
HELEN WINTER	BETTY GANNETT
MIKE STEIN	JOSEPH BRANDT
SIDNEY TAYLOR	HYMAN LUMER
SANDY PATRINOS	CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
JACOB GREEN	MIKE ZAGARELL

JOSE RISTORUCCI

ZAGARELL, RISTORUCCI, and four young men, three of whom were white and one a Negro, arrived a few minutes after the session had gotten underway.

RUBIN told the group that he had sent out a letter asking various Party heads to be present at this meeting and be in a position to make reports. He said that GEORGE MEYERS, who is the Labor Secretary, could not be present, but that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Head of Negro Affairs, ARNOLD JOHNSON, who heads up the committee on Peace, and MIKE ZAGARELL, Head of the Youth Committee, were present.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.

RUBIN then stated that at the last CP, USA National Convention, quotas had been set up for recruiting of new members into the CP, USA. RUBIN said that the quotas had not been met, but they had been successful in bringing a number of young people into the Party.

RUBIN then stated that it was his personal view that anyone coming into the CP, USA, should be aware of what the Party stands for, and be ready to assist in its activities. RUBIN said that a person applying for membership in the CP, USA, in his opinion, should be checked out as to background. RUBIN said he felt that the new member should be considered an apprentice who had to be educated and sent to school in the Party. RUBIN stated that during this preliminary period the established Party members could determine what the new members were thinking and be able to analyze why the new members had joined the CP, USA.

ARNOLD JOHNSON objected to RUBIN's views, saying that such a procedure with regard to new members would make it difficult to recruit.

RUBIN then stated that before they went into a discussion of recruiting, he wanted them to hear from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Head of Negro Affairs.

LIGHTFOOT told them that he had been traveling around the country for the CP, USA for many years and was very familiar with the Party operation and membership. LIGHTFOOT said one thing he wanted to make clear was the fact Negro nationalists STOKEY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN had a great many Negro followers and whether the Party agreed or disagreed with the views of such Negro nationalists, they had a great impact on the American Negro.

LIGHTFOOT said he did not know where CARMICHAEL and RAP BROWN were headed, whether it was in the direction of left-wing group, such as represented the Chinese Communist point of view, or were merely Black racists. LIGHTFOOT said in any event, it was clear that they were not headed in the direction of the CP, USA. LIGHTFOOT said that he had raised this point because it appeared to him that the CP, USA had a growing tendency which was resulting in their isolation from the Negro masses.

LIGHTFOOT then stated that in his travels around the country and in attending CP meetings, it was rare that

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

he saw a black face in the membership. He then asked the group whether such a condition represented Negro and white unity which had always been a strong slogan of the CP, USA. LIGHTFOOT said that he thought that Michigan should have more Negro members. He was very disappointed in Negro membership in Ohio, which he considered a depressed area. He criticized the New York City CP Clubs, which were mostly in his opinion White. He pointed out that in California there were only from ten to twelve Negro comrades.

In conclusion, LIGHTFOOT warned the group that the CP, USA in order to advance had to recruit among the black masses, or these forces would be lost to racist leaders such as STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN.

RUBIN then pointed out that it was close to 4:00 P.M. and they only had an hour or so for discussion.

It was then suggested that since the views of the more mature Party members were well known, it would be best to hear from the younger comrades.

MIKE ZAGARELL, Head of the CP, USA National Youth Committee, then told the others that the Party had made numerous contacts on campuses throughout the country with some success. He stated that many of the young people felt that the CP, USA, was no longer an active progressive organization and were more interested in other groups. ZAGARELL said that young Negroes who were contacted seemed to be afraid that the CP, USA was trying to use them.

The four young men who had come to the meeting with ZAGARELL then spoke in turn echoing ZAGARELL's comments. They all seemed to indicate that the best hope of success for the Party in connection with recruiting lay in the formation of W.E.B. DU BOIS Clubs.

A characterization of the W.E.B. DU BOIS Club is appended hereto.

The above mentioned four young men indicated that they felt that Party policies were not strongly enough worded and that the CP, USA was not active enough in mass movements and seemed to be unable to lead mass activities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

One of the four young men who was a Negro said that he objected to the cautious approach used by CP members and he would prefer to introduce himself as a Communist and either be accepted or rejected as a CP member.

Discussion of the above was continued until 5:00 p.m., at which time the meeting ended.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised on May 1, 1967, that the current officers of the DCA, as well as all members of the DCA National Executive Committee, are members of the CP and that the CPUSA furnishes the major financial support for the DCA national office.

The second source advised that in September, 1966, Franklin Alexander, DCA National Chairman, stated that the DCA is now in fact a functioning young communist league. Also, in September, 1966, Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA.

The second source advised that in September, 1966, Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries, and Marxism, and in April, 1967, Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

As of May, 1967, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7*

Sources of this Bureau have
identities and are reliable in
this document have provided
reliable information in the past

FBI

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

COMINFIL OF SCLC

IS - C

Bufile 100-438794

CGfile [redacted]

NYfile 100-149194

ATfile 100-5718

CIRM

Bufile 100-442529

NYfile 100-153735

ATfile 100-6670

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE
DATE: 6-11-85 1678RFP

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM 11.5.2.2
DATE 12-18-87
DECLASSIFICATION

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b7E

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM 10/12/67 captioned as
above.

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and eight
copies, for Chicago three, and for New York two, of LHM.

Source utilized to characterize CAROL HOOVER is
NY 5019-S*. Source utilized to characterize STANLEY LEVISON
is NY 694-S* (S) (U)

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [redacted] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] MUST BE CLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION
ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because
it contains information furnished by NY 694-S*. It is felt
this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize
the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information
of this nature. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT RECORDED

4- Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM) 3- Chicago (Enc. 3) (RM) 198 DEC 27 1967
(2- 100-438794) 2- New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
(1- 100-442529) 6- Atlanta (1- 100-5718) (1- 100-6670)
(1- 100-5586)

Approved: [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge

AGS:jhs (15)

~~SECRET~~

57 JAN 3 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-438794-2030



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

Atlanta, Georgia
December 18, 1967

8-30-84
~~32-83~~ 8972 TDK/KH
Classified by ~~367 DRT/KH~~
Declassify on: OADR
Per previous release
SCLC - D. Garrow

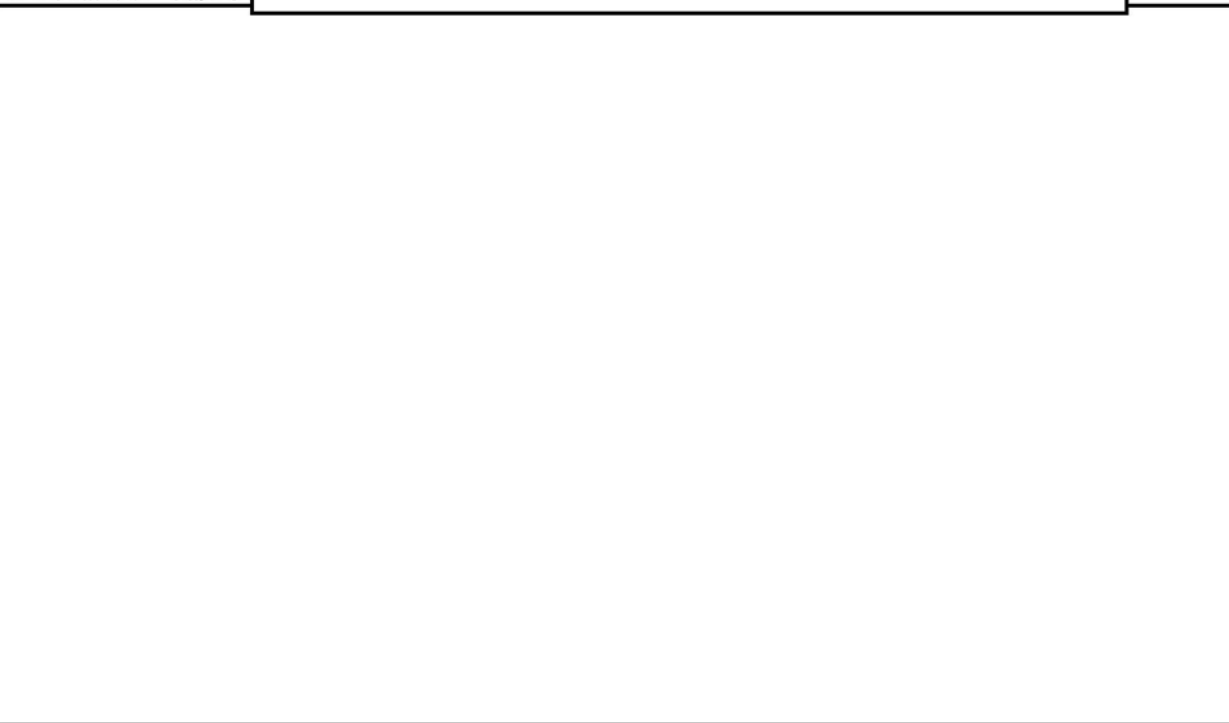
~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C
b7D

On December 14, 1967, a confidential source
advised that [redacted]



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outside your agency.

5468K
73774
CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/LL
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 12-18-89

~~SECRET~~
GROUP 1

Excluded From Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-442529-

CLASSIFICATION DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPT. OF JUSTICE
DATE: 6-11-85 16788 LP/SH

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Source advised it was his understanding that



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b7D

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CAROL HOOVER

A news item in "The Atlanta Daily World" (an Atlanta, Georgia daily Negro newspaper), dated May 21, 1965, titled "Albany 'Justice' Assailed" datelined Hapeville, Georgia, sets forth information regarding a semi-annual board meeting of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF) held in Hapeville during the previous weekend. The article reports that Miss CAROL HOOVER, Atlanta, Georgia, an administrative assistant at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was one of four new members added to the board of SCEF at this meeting.

A characterization of the SCEF is attached hereto.

On August 22, 1964, CAROL HOOVER of SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia, told STANLEY LEVISON she was glad to have seen him at a party the previous Wednesday, according to a confidential source. ~~X~~ (u)

She also asked LEVISON for a financial contribution to the campaign fund of DONALD L. HOLLOWELL who was running for Judge of the Superior Court, Atlanta, Georgia. ~~X~~ (u)

LEVISON advised HOOVER that in response to her request he had contributed \$50. ~~X~~ (u)

~~SECRET~~

1

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party Functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 8, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN, Director and Associate Director respectively of the SCEF, were identified by ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN under a state sedition statute as members of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

A third source advised on May 28, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for CARL and ANNE BRADEN and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 8, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
December 18, 1967

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
 CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference
 Atlanta Letterhead Memorandum dated
 and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: *December 15, 1967*Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) CINAL
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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b7E

Re Chicago teletype to the Bureau dated 12/4/67,
and Bureau teletype to Chicago dated 12/5/67, both captioned,
"CP, USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION, IS - C; CONFERENCE
FOR NEW POLITICS, INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY)."

Enclosed herewith are nine copies for the Bureau
and four for New York of a LHM containing information
pertaining to an enlarged Illinois CP State Committee
meeting held 12/10/67, at Chicago, Illinois.

Source utilized in LHM is [REDACTED]

The LHM is being classified ~~confidential~~ because
data contained therein was furnished by a source, the
unauthorized disclosure of which could reveal the identity
of the source and be detrimental to the national defense.

- ⑥ - Bureau (Encl. 9) (RM)
(1 - 100-3-116) (CIRM)
(1 - 100-3-89) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
4 - New York (100-80641) (Encl. 4) (RM)
(1 - 100-153735) (CIRM)
(1 - 100-89590) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
(1 - 100-98699) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
5 - Chicago [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-41324) (CIRM)
(1 - 100-19431) (CP, USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT -
STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
(1 - 100-32207) (CINAL)

EHW:flk
(15)

F 76

100-442527
CARBON COPY

53 DEC 29 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M. Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

100-3-89-11319
ORIGINAL FILED IN

CG 100-18953

No dissemination of this LHM is being made at this time regarding individuals mentioned, with the exception of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT since complete channelization of the informant's report will be made in the immediate future.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
December 15, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-18953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 13, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

On December 10, 1967, an enlarged Illinois Communist Party (CP) State Committee meeting was held in Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 38 people were in attendance. Jack Kling, Illinois CP State Secretary, was elected chairman while Dot Davies was elected secretary for the meeting.

It was announced that the main topic of discussion at this meeting would be based on the Negro Question.

In the absence of Earl Durham, Chairman of the Illinois CP Negro Affairs Commission, Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the National CP Negro Affairs Commission, gave the main report.

In his speech, Lightfoot first told of what should be done to win equality for "black" people in this country. He said that we have seen that mere integration will not solve the problems of the Negroes in America and, therefore, the CP must be the pace setters and not be afraid to confront the realities the CP faces in America.

Lightfoot then spoke of how the Cuban communists solved the problems of integrated housing in Cuba. He said that the Cubans did not have to pass a lot of laws to establish equality to gain housing, jobs, etc., for their people, but rather Castro stated during the early part of a certain month

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-442529-

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

that he will give them until the 25th of the month to integrate. Lightfoot said that those who did not comply were then taken before the "wall" (firing squad), and that ended their problems. Lightfoot said that when a certain class of white people rushed out of Cuba to the United States, the government then was able to take over rows and rows of apartment buildings which had been vacated and collected the poor people from all the nation and they were able to be given first class housing.

Lightfoot also spoke of discriminatory practices within the labor movement within the United States as well as of practices which he described as being employed by the United States capitalistic system to keep the Negro "down" on the economic ladder. Lightfoot said that the CP must find ways to combat these practices.

Discussion of Lightfoot's speech then ensued.

Jim West, Midwest CP Trade Union Co-Ordinator, stated that the building trades in Chicago have always been a bastle of discrimination and the CP will have to find more jobs for Negroes in the building trades.

Herb Wright spoke of the failures of the drive to organize the hospital workers in Chicago and blamed the Chicago Federation of Labor for not supporting the drive to organize the unorganized. Wright also spoke of the necessity to build black caucuses in the labor unions and to mobilize the working class to fight for complete freedom.

Nate Sharpe spoke of the fight which took place in the Steelworkers Union to prevent the workers from giving up their right to strike in the coming negotiations in the steel industry.

Ish Flory spoke of the need for the CP to organize in the ghetto; the number of unemployed youth who need assistance; and the fight to teach Negro history in the schools on the south side of Chicago. Flory stated that there are a number of areas where recruits for the Party can be won.

After the luncheon recess the group dispersed and participated in the following panels:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Negro-Labor Alliance - Herb Wright,
Panel Leader

Political Action - Ish Flory,
Panel Leader

Problems of Work in the White Community -
Arnold Bechetti, Panel Leader

It was learned that 14 people participated in the panel on Negro-Labor Alliance, 12 in the panel on Political Action, and 12 in the panel on Problems of Work in the White Community.

In the Negro-Labor Alliance panel, Herb Wright opened with a speech and stated that the Negro-Labor Alliance which flourished in the 1930's to build the great industrial unions of our nation was beheaded in the 1940's by the ruling class who recognized its great potential as a threat against the capitalistic system and by the stupidity of some top labor leaders who were naive enough to believe that the government and the McCarthyites were concerned only with the communists. In reality their goal was to purge the labor movement of the militants and blunt the thrust of a greater alliance that would not only embrace the economic struggles but also the mass struggles for peace, freedom, and the rightful place of the working class in the political arena.

Wright stated that the racist rulers of our country and some unions have utilized every deceptive tactic known to prevent the regrowth of the Negro-Labor Alliance. Wright further stated that those who seek to perpetuate these policies and the practices must be opposed and fought with all forces which the CP can muster and we should give special attention to the following four points which our Party must not only be the initiators, but the back bone of their implementation:

1. Breaking discrimination in the craft unions, especially building trades.
2. Organize the unorganized.
3. Build the Negro American Labor Council and Negro caucuses in the labor unions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4. Combat racist ideology among workers and in their organizations.

In the discussion Ted Pearson said that there should be a special effort on the part of the CP to bridge the gap between the shops and the communities. He recommended that one way to do this is to commence distributing CP literature at the shop gates and in the union halls.

Lulu Saffold pointed out that Negro women are not being trained for skilled jobs in industry.

Sara Jones, an Illinois CP member from the south side of Chicago, stated that the Negro women do not have the opportunity to learn the skills where big money is being made.

Al Hanover, a member of the Illinois CP, stated that there are three Negro apprentices employed in his plant but that they were so harrassed by the white employees that they were forced out of the plant.

Claude Lightfoot stated that the Party must take the initiative and launch the program around the building trades as recommended. He said that the New York CP District is working on a program similar to this, especially where Federal funds are involved. We have to quit being so timid. Once an effort is undertaken you do not have to worry about allies. You will win support from unexpected sources. There are enough communists here in Chicago to start the ball rolling.

At this time the panel groups re-assembled and reports concerning the three panels were then given. For the panel on Political Action Ish Flory stated that the Party must concern itself with electing Negro candidates from the ghetto and must also consider running two communist candidates, one black and one white, in the coming elections.

For the panel on Problems of Work in the White Community Bob Woods, an Illinois CP youth leader on the north side of Chicago, stated that the communists could do a terrific job in breaking down discrimination in housing in their own communities by informing their white neighbors of the special problems and issues facing the Negro people. Woods said that the CP could also work in their labor unions to elect Negroes to leadership positions. He said we should also support candidates who back the Negro causes.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

For the panel on Negro-Labor Alliance Ken Applehans gave the report and briefly summarized the information as previously discussed and set forth above.

In summarizing the panels, Claude Lightfoot stated that a lot of people always talk, but the CP must do some work to have something to talk about. Lightfoot felt that the meeting was a reflection of the collectivity of our Party. We have withstood the Smith and McCarran Acts and have been harrassed by all sides and to come through on all of this and to make the progress we are making, is amazing. Lightfoot said we have nothing to be ashamed of. We were forced out of the labor movement and other mass organizations, yet our Party was able to move ahead and play a vanguard role. Lightfoot said he was highly satisfied with today's meeting and was expecting the Chicago communists to get a real struggle "going" against the building trade unions.

The following motions were then made and accepted.

1. Reproduce reports and recommendations from the three panels.
2. Continue the discussion of the Negro-Labor Alliance in the Industrial clubs in preparation for the national CP industrial conference tentatively scheduled for the spring of 1968.
3. That the Party print pamphlets on the Negro work.
4. That it be recommended to the Illinois CP Industrial Commission to prepare a white-paper on Negro leadership in the labor movement.

At this time the topic of the Illinois CP budget for 1968 was discussed. Lou Diskin reported that the total income for the District was \$19,504.67, the bulk of which came from the north side in Chicago. Diskin then projected the Illinois CP District budget for 1968 which he stated totals around \$30,000.

In order to raise some of this money to carry out the budget, it was agreed to have at least one major fund

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY; USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

raising affair each month from January to May, 1968. It was also stated that every working comrade contribute one week's salary and that each CP club make a pledge of financial assistance for 1968.

Diskin recommended and it was passed that the Illinois CP State Board resolve the problem of the District having a financial director.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FBI

Date: 1/5/68

Transmit the following in

Via ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~SECRET~~
AIRTEL AIRMAIL
CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 6-11-85 1678 REPIA
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

CIRM.

BuFile 100-442529
NYfile 100-153735
ATfile 100-6670

COMINFIL OF SCLC

IS - C

BuFile 100-438794
NYfile 100-149194
ATfile 100-5718

Classified by 608
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Classification
DATE 5/17/77

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

8-31-84 Classified by 8972 TD Klett
Declassify on: OADR
Per release (SCLC) David Garrows

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and eight
copies of LHM and for New York three.

Source utilized to characterize STANLEY LEVISON is
NY 694-S* (S) Source utilized to characterize HOSEA WILLIAMS
is NY 4171-S*. Sources utilized to characterize HUNTER
PITTS O'DELL are NY 694-S* and NY 4171-S* (S) (S)

advised

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
100-442529
(1 - 100-438794)
3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
(1 - 100-111180)
8 - Atlanta
(1 - 100-6670)
(1 - 100-5718)
(1 - 100-5586) (M. L. KING, JR.)

(1 - 157-257) (HOSEA WILLIAMS)

REC-31

AGS:jhs
(15)

18 JAN 6 1968

~~SECRET~~

Sent

Per

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASS. AUTH. SEC.

1cc airtel & lhm retained 806

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

100-438794

AT 100-6670
AT 100-5718

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source was unable to furnish any further details.

b7D

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY. INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [REDACTED]

(U)

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because it contains information furnished by [NY 694-S*] (S). It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature. ~~(S)~~

~~SECRET~~

X



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRG)
DATE: 6-4-85 1678 RFPK~~

Atlanta, Georgia
January 5, 1968

8-31-84
8-3-85
Classified by 367 DTK/1
Declassify on: OADR
Per release (SCIC)
80-1549
80-2116
81-1346
81-1384
81-1079

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On January 4, 1968, a confidential source
advised he understood that recently [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 1
Date of Declassification Indefinite

D.C.
~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

A.R. man-ben
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP-4 JRM/LL
54688
73518
81514
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 1-5-88

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your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]
DATE 10/15/77 653/24

1

~~SECRET~~

100-442529-2442
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

In July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, also known as JACK H. O'DELL, was considered by the Communist Party, USA, as a member of its National Committee. ~~(S)~~

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL told EDWINA SMITH December 27, 1963, he would not go back to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on the same basis because he is now a "left person" and if they cannot accept him the way he is then they will have to forget about him. ~~(S)~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

HOSEA WILLIAMS

During October, 1964, a confidential source advised that on October 3, 1964, RUTH BAILEY, then an employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (SCLC), Harlem, New York Office, while discussing several SCLC personalities with one CONNIE CAMPBELL, referred to WILLIAMS. BAILEY said WILLIAMS had mentioned to her (date not specified) that on a prior occasion (date not specified) HUNTER PITTS O'DELL had told him more about politics than he could read.

~~(S)~~(u)

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
January 5, 1968

~~SECRET~~

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
 COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
 CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Atlanta Letterhead Memorandum dated
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

9105

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-13148) (P)

SUBJECT: CIRM

DATE: 1/8/68

On 12/28/67 [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN a number of documents which had been provided to him [redacted]

All of the documents related to a CP,USA "Conference on Strategy & Tactics in the New Stage of Struggle for Negro Liberation" held 10/14-15/67 at New York, New York. As these documents were only temporarily available to the source, they were xeroxed by the Minneapolis Office and returned to him on 1/2/68.

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b7E

The documents, numbering four, were entitled as follows:

1. "Conference on Strategy & Tactics in the New Stage of Struggle for Negro Liberation (October 14-15, 1967)"
2. "The Afro-American in the Arts Today" by DOUGLASS ARCHER
3. "Report to National Conference C.P.U.S.A. - October 14-15, 1967," by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Secretary of the National Committee for Negro Affairs
4. "Statements on the Concept of the 'Aristocracy of Labor'"

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (Encs. 4) (RM)
- 3 - Minneapolis
(2 - 100-13148)

RWH:jmk
(6)



JAN 10 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly Payroll Savings Plan

MP 100-13148

9106

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two xerox copies and for the New York Office one xerox copy of each of the above-noted documents. One xerox copy of each of these documents is being retained by the Minneapolis Office and maintained as an exhibit in 100-13148-1B.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13295) (P*)

DATE: 1/9/68

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C
OO: Los Angeles

Re San Diego letter 10/23/67.

No pertinent information developed since referenced letter.

San Diego will continue to follow activities of Communist Party and other subversive groups and submit quarterly report or letter as indicated.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-66078) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - San Diego

RET:lsc
(8)

REC-41

100-442529-2444

EX-108

15 JAN 12 1968

Rec'd [Signature]

59 JAN 29 1968

F B I

Date: 1/11/68

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670).

CIRM

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and seven copies, and for New York two, of LHM.

Source referred to is [redacted] (U)

Source utilized to characterize STANLEY LEVISON is NY 694-S* (U)

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY. INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted] (U)

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because it contains information furnished by NY 694-S*. It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature. (U)

- 3- Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2- New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
3- Atlanta
(1 - 100-6670)
(1 - 100-5718)

AGS:jhs
(8)

AGENCY: AGO, ST. OCT. SER. _____

DATE: 1/12/68
HOW LONG: _____
BY: _____

16 JAN 12 1968

Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7C
b7D

C. C. Bishop

ENCLOSURE EX 101 100-442529 2445

REC 55 [signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

[signature]

2/30/68
Reason-FBI 1-2.4.2
Date of Review 1/11/68
#87063



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

Atlanta, Georgia
January 11, 1968

b6
b7C
b7D

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source previously advised that

[REDACTED]

~~C~~

(U)

On January 10, 1968, source advised he recently
learned that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

~~C~~

(U)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC~~

~~DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION~~

Class. & Ext. By SP2 BJS/ldd

Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2

Date of Review 1/11/88

87063

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

100 - 442529 - 2445

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Atlanta, Georgia
January 11, 1968

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Atlanta Memorandum dated and
captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/16/68

FROM: SAC, Kansas City (100-11934) (P*)

SUBJECT: OCIRM
(OO: New York)

ReBulet to Albany, dated 8/28/64, and KClet to Bureau, dated 10/27/67.

No information has been developed in captioned matter within the Kansas City Division since date of referenced KClet. Therefore, no report being submitted.

cc 606411
② - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Kansas City
GAA:B
(5)

EX-102

REC 37

100-442529-2446

JAN 18 1968



5010-108-01

57 JAN 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/17/68

FROM: *[Signature]* SAC, BIRMINGHAM (100-5150) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
OO: New York

J. Daniels

ReBHlet to Bureau, 10/18/67.

No information has been received during the period 10/1/67 - 12/31/67 of any Communist Party activity in racial matters within the territory of the Birmingham Field Division.

[Handwritten signature]

100-442529-2447

REC-41

100-442529-2447

EX-108

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
 - 1 - Birmingham
- RSM:scb
(4)

22 JAN 19 1968

Rac. B. Int. Sec. T.



5010-108

F14
JAN 20 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/18/68

FROM : SAC, NORFOLK (100-5921) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Norfolk letter to Bureau 10/31/67.

There has been no information developed in any of the categories I through IV for the period from 10/1/67 to 1/1/68.

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past and is familiar with CP activities in the Norfolk, Virginia, area, advised that the CP activity in the Norfolk area had been virtually non-existent in recent months. b7D

It is to be noted that the Norfolk Division has no known CP members residing within the territory.

Norfolk will remain alert for any information concerning this matter.

REC-40 / 100 - 4 -

2448

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM) (100-153735, CIRM)
- 1 - Norfolk

LWK:jst
(5)



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/18/68

FROM : *gm* SAC, BUTTE (100-8414) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
OO: New York

Remylet, 10/17/67.

No pertinent activity has taken place in the Butte Division and no report is being submitted.

(2) - Bureau (Reg.)
1 - New York (Reg.)
1 - Butte
THZ/ar
(4)

D. [unclear]
2449
REC-40



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/18/68

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (100-18520) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Rerep of SA KENNETH P. GLENNON dated 10/31/67 at Buffalo.

Informants and sources at Buffalo have reported no information of significance with regard to Communist Party (CP) activity in captioned matter concerning Strategy, Tactics or Penetration and Influence in Racial Organizations.

In view of the above, no report is being submitted by Buffalo at this time, UACB. Buffalo will continue to give attention to this matter and will submit appropriate communication to reach Bureau by 5/1/68.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Buffalo
KPG;pas
(3)

ST-110
REC-45

JAN 23 1968

RECEIVED



F B I

Date: 1/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12464) P
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

Re Baltimore airtel to Bureau, 1/4/68; Bureau airtel to Baltimore, 1/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau with this airtel are 15 copies of an LHM captioned "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, JANUARY 14-16, 1968". Copies of the LHM are being forwarded with this airtel to New York.

Source used in LHM is [REDACTED].

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" since disclosure of information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential source of great value and compromise future effectiveness.

- 6 - Bureau (Encls. 15) (Registered Mail)
 (1 - 100-3-86 PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
 (1 - 100-3-72 POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
 (1 - 100- [REDACTED] CIRM)
6 - New York (Encls. 6) (Registered Mail)
 (1 - 100 ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100 PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
 (1 - 100 POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
 (1 - 100 CIRM)
2 - Baltimore
 (1 - 100-12464)
 [REDACTED]

RCN/jme
(14)

100-442529
NOT RECORDED
172 JAN 22 1968

54 JAN 29 1968

CARBON

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M Per _____

BA 100-12464

The LHM is being shown as having emanated from Washington, D. C., in order to further protect informant.

Detailed informant reports will be disseminated to all interested offices.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

January 19, 1968

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

A confidential source in part on January 17, and in part on January 18, 1968, advised that meetings of the National Committee of the Communist Party (CP), USA, were held in New York, New York, January 14 through January 16, 1968, at the Abbey-Victoria Hotel, 7th Avenue and 51st Street, and at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Broadway. During the evening of January 15, 1968, the National Committee meeting was carried on at the Manhattan Hotel, 45th Street and 8th Avenue.

During the three days of meetings, there was a maximum of 125 to 130 persons present. The following CP members were recognized as being in attendance at one or more of the meetings:

DOROTHY HEALEY
ROSCOE PROCTOR
RALPH NELSON
JACK KLING
TOM DENNIS
HENRY WINSTON
HYMAN LUMER
SIDNEY TAYLOR
ARNOLD JOHNSON

MICKEY LIMA
Mrs. ROSCOE PROCTOR
JAMES WEST
JOHN FABRY
GUS HALL
JAMES JACKSON
DANNY RUBIN
HELEN WINTER
WILLIAM PATTERSON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-442529-
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

IRVING POTASH
NATALIE MEYERS
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
MIKE ZAGARELL
MIKE STEIN
JESUS COLON
MILDRED McADOREY
ELSIE DICKERSON
PHIL BART
HERBERT APTHEKER
AL RICHMOND
BEN DOBBS
BURT NELSON
ERIK BERT
SI GERSON
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
JOSEPH BRANDT
GEORGE MORRIS
EARL DURHAM
ALVA BUXEMBAUM
JAMES ALLEN
ARCHIE BROWN
ROQUE RISTORUCCI
ART SHEILDS
TIM WHEELER
CARL BLOFCE
MIKE EISENSCHER
PEGGY GOLDMAN
DON HAMMERQUIST

GEORGE MEYERS
TED PEARSON
BETTY GANNETT
GIL GREEN
ED TEIXIERA
CLARA COLON
JIM TORMEY
IRVING DICKERSON
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
CARL WINTER
JACOB GREEN
SAM KUSHNER
A. KRCHMAREK
PAT BLAU
CHARLENE ALEXANDER
WILLIAM TAYLOR
MIKE DAVIDOW
JAMES LUSTIG
JARVIS TYNER
RACHEED STOREY
BETTY SMITH
JOSE RISTORUCCI
HERSCHEL WALKER
JOHN STANFORD
BETTINA APTHEKER
BOB HEISLER
LEE DLUGIN
MILFORD SOUTHERLAND

The opening session of the National Committee meetings began at 10:00 a.m. at the Abbey-Victoria Hotel with DANNY RUBIN, head of the CP, USA National Organization Commission, calling the meeting to order. CHARLENE ALEXANDER was approved as Chairman for the opening session.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK,
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

GUS HALL, the Secretary General of the CP, USA, made the opening remarks which ran on for over two hours. His talk concerned the 1968 elections. He pointed out that the millions of voters in the United States were concerned about the United States war of aggression in Vietnam and aggravated problems at home. He said the unrest was accentuated by the increasing number of strikes by workers. He talked of violence in the cities and demonstrations by Negroes which called for an end to racist oppression and the end of poverty in the ghetto areas. He talked about the increasing amount of brutality on the part of police everywhere in the United States. He indicated that the key objective of the November, 1968, elections was to turn the course of the country away from aggressive war and the extrication of the United States from Southeast Asia. He condemned the President, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, for the betrayal of his 1964 election promise of peace in Asia.

GUS HALL said that the greatest danger in the United States came from the military-industrial complex symbolized by the Pentagon. He was encouraged by the increasing number of Democrats, the President's own party, who were beginning to see the danger of the war in Asia. GUS HALL said that the Communists in the United States were interested in creating an independent political movement which would call for peace and work for the Negro, labor, and youth. He said the CP, USA was constantly involved in the struggle to involve the masses in work that would help the Negro, youth, and laboring man.

GUS HALL said that the Communist Party was directly concerned and involved in the working-class movement and would always consider itself to be a working-class party.

HALL stated that in the November elections the CP, USA should help Negroes get seats in the National

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

Conventions of the two great parties. He pointed out that in some of the Southern states the delegates to the National Conventions were all Negroes.

HALL said that he was greatly encouraged by the Peace and Freedom Party in California, which had caused some 90,000 voters to change their registration. He indicated that this was proof of the fact that a great number of the voters were interested in stopping the drive towards total war.

HALL said that the movement of Democrats against the President and the independent movements for peace could be viewed as two aspects of a single struggle which he felt to be a completely new political movement.

HALL urged all members of the CP, USA to carefully evaluate candidates for office in their various districts and wherever possible vote for the election of Negroes. HALL informed the group that there would be Communist candidates in all areas including the presidential race. He said the voters must be given an opportunity to know the Communist program from Communists.

HALL then became sharply critical of the Communist groups in California. He said that they had not done enough to help the Peace and Freedom movement in that area. He was critical of the white comrades whom he felt had not worked hard enough with the minority groups.

In closing HALL said that because of the times, the CP, USA had a great opportunity to move forward; and he was going to demand aggressive leadership.

The next speaker was ARNOLD JOHNSON, who went over much of the same ground covered by GUS HALL with respect to

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

the 1968 elections. He made a number of direct quotes from the CP, USA Draft Statement on the 1968 election.

After lunch, JOHN ABT, long-time attorney for the CP, USA, told the group that all preparation had been made concerning the legal aspects of setting up a Daily Marxist Paper.

Following ABT's talk there was discussion on the coming elections and the creation of a Daily Marxist Paper.

A question was raised as to how the editorial board of the new daily publication would be selected. GUS HALL replied that it would consist of all sorts of persons and would not necessarily be limited to members of the CP, USA. He indicated that the National Executive Board would meet separately during the meetings and discuss this matter.

After further discussion it was decided that the National Executive Board would meet at 8:00 a.m. on the morning of January 16, 1968, and would make its report later on in the day to the National Committee.

The first day ended at about 5:30 p.m. The second day of the National Committee meetings got underway at about 9:30 a.m. at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel with HENRY WINSTON, National Chairman, CP, USA, calling the meeting to order.

PHIL BART acted as chairman of the morning session which consisted of discussions of the 1968 elections.

Following lunch MIKE STEIN was elected chairman of the afternoon session, which continued discussion on the coming elections for about an hour.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

DANNY RUBIN, head of the National Organization Commission, then talked about a program of activity by the CP in connection with the working-class movement in the United States. He emphasized the CP, USA was essentially a working-class movement and would have to keep close to the trade unions in order to continue to be successful in its activities.

HYMAN LUMER then stated that the CP, USA was continuing to try to work out a program which emphasized Marxist theory in connection with movements of the working class.

JAMES JACKSON then addressed the group. In essence he said that the plight of the Negro people and the struggle of the working class were tied together. GEORGE MEYERS, who is the Labor Secretary for the CP, USA, then told the group that the American working class was the major force capable of leading the struggle for Socialism in the United States. He said that this was a fundamental concept of the CP, USA based on the science Marxism-Leninism.

MEYERS stated that the class struggle was a great force for change in America and directly influenced all other mass struggles such as the fight of the Negro people for equality, the struggle for peace, and the struggles for civil rights.

MEYERS said that although the working class in the United States was generally well-to-do, they still were a united force and as such would eventually play a great roll in bringing about the end of a capitalist United States.

MEYERS warned that the monopolies in the United States continued to try to split the working class for their own advantage. He said that there was encouragement of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

discrimination against Negro workers by their white comrades. MEYERS said that the Party believed in Negro-White work-class unity.

In closing MEYERS said that the CP, USA would continue its day-to-day struggle and would lead the working class in the revolutionary transition to socialism.

The meeting continued its discussion until 5:30 p.m. At this time DANNY RUBIN suggested that they convene for an evening session at the Manhattan Hotel, 45th Street and 8th Avenue at 7:00 p.m.

The group met shortly after 7:00 p.m. with CARL BLOICE elected as chairman for that session. Discussion continued on the talk made by MEYERS, LUMER and JACKSON. DON HAMMERQUIST was critical of the tie up between the CP, USA and the working class. HAMMERQUIST called for more intellectual leadership. ARCHIE BROWN repudiated HAMMERQUIST's statements saying that the CP, USA could not succeed unless it was based on the working class.

The discussion continued until about 11:00 p.m. Most of the comments were favorable with regard to the talk made by MEYERS, LUMER, and JACKSON.

The third session of the National Committee meetings got underway at 11:50 a.m. on January 16, 1968, at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel.

ROSCOE PROCTOR was elected chairman of the meeting.

After a short discussion on the working class tie up with the CP, USA, HENRY WINSTON talked about his trip to the Soviet Union in 1967. He cited instances of minor differences between Communist countries but stated on the whole all Communist countries were united in a search for peace.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

GUS HALL then told the group that the National Executive Board had met earlier in the day and had discussed the setting up of a editorial staff for the new daily publication. HALL said that in effect they did not come to any real conclusions. He indicated that the paper would not be like previous publications of the CP, USA and would in general support all progressive activities. HALL said that the National Executive Board was planning a lengthy study as to the best candidates for editorial positions on the new publication. He said that the National Executive Board would meet again in February, 1968, and would invite some of the National Committee members to meet with them on this matter. Those of the National Committee that were not invited would receive a summary.

HENRY WINSTON then called for a special convention to be held during the summer in order to concentrate on the coming 1968 elections and the setting up of the new daily paper. He suggested that the National Convention scheduled for 1968 be postponed until 1969.

A discussion followed in which there was some disagreement. It was pointed out that the actions suggested by WINSTON was in violation of the constitution of the CP, USA. Eventually, however, it was decided that the special convention would be held July 3, 1968, in New York and that a National Convention would be held April 1, 1969.

The group then voted on reports made at the first day's session. The reports on the 1968 elections by GUS HALL and ARNOLD JOHNSON were approved. The CP, USA was directed to mobilize its strength to back a suitable third party candidate for peace. Each district was directed to get out leaflets and contact the public.

The group then approved the working-class approach of the CP, USA as set forth in reports by HYMAN LUMER, JAMES JACKSON, and GEORGE MEYERS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 14-16, 1968

HYMAN LUMER then gave a talk on the Middle-East crisis. He condemned Israel as an aggressor which was acting in support of the United States imperialism.

LUMER said that the ruling clique in Israel was pursuing a racist policy against the Arabs. He said that Israel could only survive in the midst of an Arab world if it reversed its present policy and became a part of the Arab world.

After discussion LUMER's report was approved.

GUS HALL then made a brief talk praising the group for its activities.

The final session ended at about 5:30 p.m.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT
AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED
OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY."



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

January 19, 1968

Title	COMMUNIST PARTY, USA NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS NEW YORK, NEW YORK JANUARY 14-16, 1968
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/22/68

FROM : SAC, Little Rock (100-3564) (P)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NY)

ReBulet to Albany, 8/28/64, and Report of
SA EDWARD F. MC FADDEN, 10/27/67, at Little Rock.

QUARTERLY LETTER

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No information developed.

100-6944
② - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
2 - Little Rock
EFMcF/ds
(6)

REC-68

ST. 114

100-442529-2451

22 JAN 24 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.
INT. SEC.

5 JAN 31 1968



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/24/68

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX [] (P*)

b3
b7E

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

OO: NY

Remylet, 10/19/67.

The Phoenix Office has no reportable information
to submit in this matter at the present time.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (RM)
1 - Phoenix

PGT/gle
(4)

EX 101
REC-32

100-442529-2452

14 JAN 26 1968



5010-108

57 FEB 1 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL MAT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/24/68

FROM : SAC, EL PASO (100-5860) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM

OO: NY

Re Bureau letter to AL, 8/28/64;
EP letter to the Bureau, 10/23/67.

Continued contact with [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is acquainted with Communist Party and related activities in the El Paso area, has determined that during the fourth quarter of 1967, the Communist Party has made no attempt to develop any racial unrest in the El Paso Division, nor has there been any interest on the part of the Communist Party along these lines in the El Paso area.

b7D

El Paso continues to maintain contact with various sources of information concerning racial matters, and with liaison sources in various organizations in this area which concern themselves with racial matters and civil rights. No information has been developed to indicate that there is any Communist influence in any of the organizations seeking integration, nor has the Communist line in any way effected the policies of these organizations.

In view of the above, in accordance with Bureau instructions, no quarterly report is being submitted by the El Paso Office.

②-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (RM) (Info)
1-El Paso

WAC:s1
(4)

REC-1

JAN 26 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



51 FEB 6 1968

6 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEWARK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/26/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/5 - 26/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY DENIS D. O'SULLIVAN	TYPED BY rp
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	b3 b6 b7C b7D b7E

REFERENCE:

Report of SA DENIS D. O'SULLIVAN dated 11/1/67, at Newark.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

IRVING POTASH is on the Security Index of the New York Office.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:

File Number Where Located:

NK T-1
[redacted]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

9-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
2-108th MI Gp, Newark (RM)
1-NISO, New York (RM)
1-NISO, Philadelphia (RM)
1-OSI, New York (RM)
1-New York (100-153735) (RM)
3-Newark (100-48052)

100-442529-2454 REC-23

JAN 29 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACST, OR, C, RAD, CRD, IS, D, ID, IO, [redacted]
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	2/9/68
How Fwd.	B/S
By	AIS Flank

Notations

VIC RPT RACIAL INT. SEC
J.M. [redacted]
FUG C&D

57 FEB 13 1968

COPIES DESTROYED

338 DEC 30 1970

NK 100-48052

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:

File Number Where Located:

/ NK T-2

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
IRVING POTASH

/ NK T-3

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

/ NK T-4

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LEAD:

NEWARK:

AT NEWARK, NEW JERSEY: Will follow communist
influence in racial matters.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because of the
information contained therein which was received from NK T-1
through NK T-4, which information may tend to identify the
source of that information. Such a disclosure would be
detrimental to the security of the U.S.

B*
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 2-108th MI Gp, Newark (RM)
1-NISO, New York (RM)
1-NISO, Philadelphia (RM)
1-OSI, New York (RM)

Report of: DENIS D. O'SULLIVAN
Date: 1/26/68

Office: NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Field Office File #: 100-48052

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Informants have advised as follows: Communist Strategy: CP members must not be hostile to demands of Black Power leaders and must support all recent uprisings and riots in Negro ghettos; SWP publishing new magazine for Negro market only; Communist Tactics: CP members urged to attend hearing of Newark City Council, November, 1967, protesting use of dogs to patrol Negro ghettos; Communist Penetration and Influence in Racial and Other Organizations: CP proud of its participation in planning committee for 10/21/67 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

-P*-

DETAILS:I. COMMUNIST STRATEGYA. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)

On November 5, 1967, a meeting of the State Board of the CP of New Jersey was held at the Essex House, Newark,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~GROUP I~~~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

NK 100-48052

7
New Jersey. IRVING POTASH gave a report dealing with the Black Liberation Movement as decided at a national CP conference. The CP does not want its members to be hostile to the demands by Black Power leaders for an independent Negro nation even though, the concept was not endorsed by communists. POTASH said that the desire for a separate state was understandable on the part of Negroes and that the CP must be sympathetic in order to win the confidence of Negroes. POTASH said that the CP must support all the recent uprisings and riots in Negro ghettos, for they were not aggression on the part of the rioters but self-defense. POTASH said that the CP must not support any plan of the Black Power advocates which calls for a massive armed assault on the white community. POTASH said the Negroes are hopelessly outnumbered by whites, and that any nation-wide attempt on their part to overthrow the government by force would necessarily fail. POTASH said the Negroes have come too far to throw everything away in a suicidal attempt. POTASH said that the CP must not object to Black Power caucuses at conferences but must not advocate or take part in any exclusively white caucuses. POTASH said chauvinism on the part of Negroes had to be tolerated but that it could not be tolerated on the part of whites. 1

NK T-1
November 13, 1967

NK T-2
November 6, 1967

IRVING POTASH

IRVING POTASH is Chairman of the New Jersey CP State Board.

NK T-2
December 6, 1967

B. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On November 1, 1967, a regular membership meeting

NK 100-48052

of the SWP was held at 336 Elizabeth Street, East Orange, New Jersey. It was announced at the meeting that a new magazine will be published by the national office of the SWP and it is planned for the Negro market only. The first edition will be distributed free to all known Negro sympathizers and friends.

NK T-3
November 2, 1967

NK T-4
November 2, 1967

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS:

During the meeting of the New Jersey CP State Board held on November 5, 1967, in Newark, POTASH announced that on Wednesday, November 8, 1967, a proposal called the "K-9" proposal, would be brought before the Newark City Council. It called for the use of specially trained police dogs to patrol Negro ghettos. POTASH urged all CP members to be at the hearing and to bring sympathizers with them to indicate verbally their opposition to the proposition.

NK T-1
November 13, 1967

NK T-2
November 6, 1967

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

During the course of a meeting of the New Jersey CP State Board on November 5, 1967, in Newark, IRVING POTASH declared that the CP was proud of its participation in the planning committee for the October 21, 1967, demonstration in Washington, D.C. POTASH said the CP had also taken part in the civil disobedience there.

NK T-1
November 13, 1967

NK T-2
November 6, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NK 100-48052

IV. MISCELLANEOUS:

No information developed.

4*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey
January 26, 1968

Title **COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS**

Character **INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

Reference **Report of SA DENIS D. O'SULLIVAN
dated and captioned as above at
Newark, New Jersey.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/24/68

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (100-3520) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
OO: NEW YORK

Re Knoxville letter to Bureau 10/17/67.

No information has been received by the Knoxville Office from any sources indicating that there is any Communist influence being exerted in racial matters in this division.

Any information of a pertinent nature concerning this subject received in the future will be reported.

This letter is being submitted in lieu of a quarterly report.

in

EX-113

100-442529-2455

2 JAN 26 1968

Wm. D. Andrews

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Knoxville

HAM/arb
(3)



F 76

51 FEB 6 1968

6 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ALBANY	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/24/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/12 - 1/15/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted]	TYPED BY tak
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	b3 b6 b7C b7D b7E

J **REFERENCE:** Report of SA [redacted] at Albany, 10/31/67.

-P*-

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Informant

File Where Located

✓ AL T-1 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ AL T-2 is [redacted]	100-12544-450
✓ AL T-3 is [redacted]	100-11067-881
✓ AL T-4 is CG 5824-S	100-19249-34
✓ AL T-5 is [redacted]	100-19906-17

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED: [Signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE: Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
1 - 108th MIG (RM)
1 - OSI, Griffiss AFB, NY (RM)
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1 - Buffalo (Info) (RM)
3 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
(1 - NIC, New York)
2 - Albany (100-19249)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-442529-2456

5 JAN 21 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report			
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.
ASST. DIR. (S, E, I, O, T, S, D, I, D, U)		2/13/68	2/13/68
By			

Notations

[Handwritten signatures and notations]
D. M. Wells
806 97D
100-19249-34
806 97D
7/12/68
806 97D

AL 100-19249

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains information from informants, whose identity, if revealed to unauthorized sources, would adversely affect the national security interests.

LEADS:

Information copies designated for Boston and Buffalo due to their interest in Communist Party activities in this area.

ALBANY OFFICE

Will continue to submit reports on a quarterly basis.

(COVER PAGE B*)

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

b6
b7C

Copy to: 1 - 108th Military Intelligence Group
1 - OSI, Griffiss AFB, Rome, New York

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 1/24/68

Office: ALBANY

Field Office File #: 100-19249

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Members of the Capitol District Communist Party (CDCP), and members of the New York District Communist Party discussed the Negro situation, which evolved from the New Politics Convention in Chicago. A representative of the Communist Party stated that he feels the Party can move into the Negro movement and gain a foothold.

-P*-

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

On October 4, 1967, MIKE STEIN and ANDY HMJRA met at Communist Party headquarters, New York City, and had a long discussion regarding the New Politics Convention.

HMJRA took the position that the convention was a "flop" and that the Party had no clear position in it.

MIKE STEIN replied that this thinking was five

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

AL 100-19249

years behind times because "Black Power" is a force that will bring about great changes in the U.S. STEIN went on to say that the Party leadership believes that black people are about to explode, also, that other leaders feel that no one really knows how the Negro people will do it, but that they are in a rebellious mood.

STEIN went on to say that the Party feels that they can move into the situation and gain a foothold. This movement is a class struggle.

HMURA commented that the Negroes will not make any gains without the help of the whites. STEIN disagreed with this. He said that the Negroes will make their own gains and are ready to fight and shed blood.

HMURA told STEIN bluntly that all of the "Black Power" leaders could not deliver 10,000 votes and also that the Party has to choose between RAPP BROWN and MARTIN LUTHER KING. HMURA pointed out that Negroes respect Reverend KING and will follow him, but RAPP BROWN has only the rowdy elements behind him.

STEIN said that he would have to go to Albany and explain to the CDCP members what is going on in the Negro movement.

(Confidential Informant
AL T-1 on October 13, 1967)

MIKE STEIN was described by Confidential Informant AL T-2 on June 27, 1967, as being an active member of the New York District Communist Party and presently holds the position of Executive Secretary in this organization.

Confidential Informant AL T-2 advised on June 27, 1967, that HMURA was a member of the CDCP and

AL 100-19249

was also the upstate representative to the New York District Communist Party.

✓ A characterization of the New Politics Convention is contained in the Appendix.

During a meeting of the Capitol District Communist Party, held on October 24, 1967, MIKE STEIN discussed the New Politics Convention and played a tape of a speech by CLAUDE ~~LIGHTFOOT~~, which stressed the following:

1. The convention was correct in giving the "Black Caucus" the power.
2. A third party or "Dump Johnson" movement has to be pushed.
3. The Party agrees with the "Black Caucus" regarding their rights to tell whites what is good for them.
4. The whites have to help them by all means possible.
5. The whites do not understand the Negroes.

~~MI~~ MIKE DWORKIN lead an attack against this, stating that the Party is becoming an instrument of "Black Caucus". DWORKIN was blunt and told STEIN that a political force could not develop under these circumstances and that the white people would not accept the power of the blacks to dominate white "New Politics".

STEIN told the group that the Party has a couple of people on the New Politics National Level and that "Black Caucus" accepts Party leaders as equal. Now, for the first time, the Party can work outside of its own ranks, and this is important.

HMURA told STEIN that this might be true but the "Black Caucus" does not represent the mass of Negro people.

DWORKIN stated that he did not like the Party

AL 100-19249

position and felt the Party was making a mistake.

(Confidential Informant
AL T-1 on October 26,
1967)

MIKE DWORKIN was described by Confidential Informant AL T-3 on May 1, 1967, as being an active member in the CDCP, and presently holds a position of leadership capacity in this organization.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was described by Confidential Informant AL T-4 as the Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, National Negro Commission and Co-chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

No information developed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS

From September 1 through 4, 1967, the National Conference For New Politics met in convention at the Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois.

There were approximately 2,000 delegates present, representing about 27,000 individuals. The purpose of the convention was to bring together persons and organizations actively working in various fields, including Equality of Opportunity for Minority Groups, Slum Clearance and Peace in Vietnam, so that they might take direct political action in support of their various goals.

(AL T-5 on 9/5-6/67)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Albany, New York
January 24, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

b6
b7C

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
 RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED],
 dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE Cleveland	OFFICE OF ORIGIN New York	DATE 1/26/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/15/68 - 1/22/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA ROBERT E. KEHRES	TYPED BY lmb
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

D.M. Kees

REFERENCE

Report of SA ROBERT E. KEHRES, 10/27/67, at Cleveland.

P*

LEADS

CLEVELAND

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will follow and report Communist activities in the Cleveland area as they pertain to racial matters.

CINCINNATI (Information)

One copy of this report is designated for the Cincinnati Office since portions of the Ohio District Communist Party (CP), whose activities are pertinent to this investigation, are in the territory of the Cincinnati Office.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: ② - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - Commanding Officer, Region IV, 109th MI Group, P.O. Box 868, Columbus, Ohio (RM) 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM) 2 - NIS, Philadelphia, Pa. (RM) 1 - Cincinnati (100-14539) (Info) (RM) 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 3 - Cleveland (100-27056)		100-442529-2457 5 JAN 29 1968 REC-58 EX 163	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	ACSI, SEC. SER.	0-17 to Cleveland - NY/Cin.	
Request Recd.	DATE FORW.	2/27/68	
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW.	KIS	
How Fwd.	BY:	AB 5/26	
By		1/11/68	

79 FEB 29 1968

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

CV 100-27056

INFORMANTS

b3
b7D
b7E

✓ CV T-1 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Used to identify FRIEDA KATZ,
HENRY CRAWFORD, RON LUCAS

✓ CV T-2 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Used to identify ALONZO HOWARD

✓ CV T-3 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Used to identify JOHN CLOUD,
FRANKLIN ANDERSON, DONALD BEAN,
ALEX WEATHERS

✓ CV T-4 is

[REDACTED]

✓ CV T-5 is

[REDACTED]

✓ CV T-6 is

[REDACTED]

✓ CV T-7 is

[REDACTED]

CV 157-1286-5

✓ CV T-8 is

[REDACTED]

Used to identify PHILIP BART,
RON LUCAS

✓ CV T-9 is

[REDACTED]

Used to identify FREDIA HARRIS and
CCR

✓ CV T-10 is

[REDACTED]

Used to identify CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

✓ CV T-11 is

[REDACTED]

Used to identify SIDNEY PECK

B
COVER PAGE

CV 100-27056

b7D

CV T-12 is

[REDACTED]

Used to identify CHARLES LOEB

CV T-13 is

[REDACTED]

Used in characterization of CCR

CV T-14 is

[REDACTED]

Used to identify ALEX WEATHERS

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains information from CV T-1 thru CV T-11, which could possibly result in their being identified. They are informants of continuing value and this would compromise their future effectiveness.

All persons named in this report as members of the Communist Party (CP), SWP or YSA, and who reside within the territory of this reporting office, are listed on the Security Index or are informants of this office.

C*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - Commanding Officer,
Region IV, 109th MI Group,
- P. O. Box 868, Columbus, Ohio (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base,
- Dayton, Ohio (RM)
- 2 - NIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: SA ROBERT E. KEHRES
Date: 1/26/68

Office: CLEVELAND

Field Office File #: 100-27056

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMONIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

FOR THE PERIOD 10/16/67 THROUGH 1/15/68.

HART stated that at CPUSA meeting, in October, 1967, the central theme was the struggle against white chauvinism and the lack of relationship between blacks and white in party. Local CP sent delegate to Black Unity Conference, is attempting to be active in local CORE, stressed need to be active in STOKES' campaign, and had plans to have CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT meet with JFK Youth, which plans did not materialize. CORE and SNCC leaders spoke at SWP Forum in Cleveland. With the exception of Cleveland CORE Chairman, the other CORE leaders are not interested in meeting with CP.

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DETAILS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party-USA (CPUSA)

1. Plans and Strategy at National Meetings

CV T-1 advised on November 6, 1967, that an Ohio Communist Party (CP) State Board Meeting was held at ANTHONY KRCHMAREK's home in Cleveland on November 3, 1967, at which KRCHMAREK announced that there had been a national meeting of the CP Black Commission in New York City in October. He said that PHIL BART, FRIEDA KATZ and HENRY CRAWFORD had attended this meeting in New York, and that the purpose of this Ohio Board Meeting was to have a report from them. In his report BART stated that the central theme of the New York meeting was the struggle against white chauvinism; that there was a lack of relationship between the whites and blacks in the party, and that under these conditions the party could not think of being a uniting force between the races. BART stated that the whites in the party should be in the leadership against racism.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

On October 11, 1966, ANTHONY KRCHMAREK appeared on a radio program carried over Cleveland radio station WXYZ. When introduced by the announcer as being a leading spokesman of the CP in Ohio, KRCHMAREK pointed out that he was chairman of the CP in Ohio.

PHILIP BART

CV T-1 advised on November 17, 1966, that at an Ohio CP State Committee Meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 13, 1966, it was announced that PHILIP BART is secretary of the CP in Ohio.

FRIEDA KATZ
HENRY CRAWFORD

CV 100-27056

CV T-1 advised on November 6, 1967, that both HENRY CRAWFORD and FRIEDA KATZ are members of the Ohio CP State Board and were present at the state board meeting held on November 3, 1967.

2. Local CP Plans and Strategy

PARTICIPATION IN BLACK UNITY CONFERENCE

CV T-2 advised on September 18, 1967, that PHILIP BART pointed out on September 14, 1967, that an all Negro meeting is to be held in Cleveland soon, and that he would like to have both ALONZO HOWARD and HENRY CRAWFORD attend. BART also advised that at the new politics convention recently held at Chicago, the Negroes held a caucus from which white persons were excluded. Source advised that one of the persons to whom BART was talking disagreed with the Negroes who want to "go it alone" in their fight for civil rights. BART explained that sometimes this is necessary, for whites can be more effective when working with whites, and Negroes can be more effective when working with Negroes. BART pointed out that for CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to have refused to attend this all Negro caucus at the new politics convention (National Conference for New Politics), would have been a suicidal thing for him to do.

ALONZO HOWARD

CV T-2 advised on November 6, 1967, that ALONZO HOWARD is a member of the CP Cedar Central Club in Cleveland.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CV T-10 advised on June 29, 1966, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was elected a member of the national committee of the CPUSA at its 18th national convention.

CV 100-27056

CV T-2 advised on October 9, 1967, that there was a meeting of the CP Cedar Central Club held in Cleveland on October 4, 1967, one of those present discussed the Black Unity Conference which is to be held in Cleveland and is closed to all white people, including news reporters. It was suggested that since white people are not being admitted, that Negro members of this club attend. HENRY CRAWFORD pointed out that the Black Unity Conference is open to all Negroes free, except for delegates who must pay a \$2.50 fee. This CP Cedar Central Club agreed to send HENRY CRAWFORD to this conference as a delegate.

ACTIVITY IN CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

CV T-3 advised on October 13, 1967, that FRIEDA KATZ was going to New York City on that evening, to attend a CP meeting pertaining to the Black Revolution, and to discuss ways for the CP to become involved.

KATZ stated that the CP wants to cooperate with CORE, and she wondered about the advisability of the CP sending a specialist to Cleveland to work on recruiting Negroes into the CP movement.

CV T-2 advised on November 13, 1967, that a meeting of Citizens for Constitutional Rights (CCR), was held in Cleveland on November 8, 1967, at which there was a heated discussion between FRED A HARRIS and FRIEDA KATZ as to who would be chairman of a meeting to be held in Cleveland denouncing the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

FRED A HARRIS said she had asked Professor SIDNEY PECK to be chairman, to which FRIEDA KATZ objected strenuously saying "SIDNEY PECK is in too many things, and he thinks he is trying to take over all of the organizations in Cleveland". KATZ said she had asked JOHN CLOUD and FRANKLIN ANDERSON both of Cleveland CORE to be chairman, but did not get any definite answer from them. KATZ said she thinks that in affairs of this type, it is high time that an effort be made to get Negroes involved. It was finally agreed that SIDNEY PECK would be in charge, but that JOHN CLOUD would give a short talk on CORE. Ohio.

CITIZENS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS (CCR)

VIRGINIA HARDIN, who has furnished information to the United States Government, is a self-admitted former member of the CP whose cooperation with the Government was publicly disclosed on June 5, 1962. Mrs. HARDIN advised on September 5, 1961, that on September 1, 1961, a meeting was held at which the name Citizens for Constitutional Rights was approved by the group, to replace the name Cleveland Committee to Abolish the House Unamerican Activities Committee, which had been the former name used by the group. EDNA KAUFMAN was chairman and the only officer of the CCR, and controlled its operations. CCR has no formal membership, and its stated purposes are to abolish the HCUA and to fight against the Smith Act and McCarran Act.

CV T-3 advised on March 29, 1965, that EDNA KAUFMAN attended an Ohio CP State Conference held in Cleveland on March 28, 1965, and during this conference she was congratulated by FRIEDA KATZ for the work she had done in efforts to abolish the HCUA, which KATZ said was "a party assignment".

EDNA KAUFMAN died on May 4, 1965, and CV T-9 reported on December 29, 1965, that he had recently learned that FRIEDA KATZ is now in charge of the CCR.

SIDNEY PECK

CV T-11 advised on April 16, 1956, that SIDNEY PECK attended a state committee meeting of the CP of Wisconsin, held April 15, 1956, and was a member of that committee at that time.

JOHN CLOUD

CV T-3 advised on October 13, 1967, that JOHN CLOUD had until recently been a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Cleveland, but that his membership in the SWP had been terminated by the SWP because of his having held a position in Cleveland CORE. The SWP has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CV 100-27076

FRANKLIN ANDERSON

Sergeant JOHN J. UNGVARY, Bureau of Special Investigation, Cleveland Police Department, advised on February 4, 1966, that ANDERSON was one of those arrested for disorderly conduct on November 14, 1965, during a liquor raid at the SWP headquarters, 5927 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland. He stated a SWP social affair was in progress at the time and that police developed information that liquor was being sold to those in attendance and that the SWP did not have a liquor license.

CV T-3 advised on August 29, 1967, that FRANKLIN ANDERSON has attended a number of weekly public forums sponsored by the SWP in Cleveland during the past one or two years, but that he is not a member or a sympathizer of the SWP. He stated that most of the forums which ANDERSON attended deal with civil rights, poverty and similar matters. He advised that ANDERSON has also occasionally attended SWP sponsored social affairs.

Source stated that the local SWP does not consider ANDERSON to have any interest in the political philosophy of the SWP and had made no effort to recruit him into the SWP or to invite him to classes where the SWP beliefs are taught.

The source described ANDERSON as a "hustler" with political ambitions who would do anything or attend any meetings to keep himself in the public eye.

FREDA HARRIS

CV T-9 advised on June 26, 1967, that FREDA HARRIS attended the Ohio CP state committee meeting held in Cleveland on June 25, 1967.

CV T-2 advised on December 7, 1967, that for sometime in the past, PHILIP RART has been trying to arrange a meeting between local CORE leaders and local CP leaders, but without success.

CV 100-27056

Source stated that one of the local CP members, ALONZO HOWARD, is currently active in Cleveland CORE.

(See section III-A of this report for current views of CORE leaders regarding efforts of CP leaders to meet with them.)

ACTIVITY AT STOKES CAMPAIGN

CV T-2 advised on September 27, 1967, that at an Ohio CP state committee meeting held in Cleveland September 24, 1967, FRIEDA KATZ stated that she wanted to get in touch with DONALD BEAN to see how he feels about CARL STOKES, (Negro candidate for mayor of Cleveland). OHIO

KATZ pointed out that BEAN, Chairman of CORE, has done very little about the STOKES Campaign. It was agreed at this meeting that those present should work to elect CARL STOKES, and FRIEDA KATZ pointed out that "CARL STOKES has not come out against the Viet Nam War, and for that reason some people say they won't vote for him. Why expect STOKES to be perfect just because he is a Negro?"

DONALD BEAN

CV T-3 advised on October 13, 1966, that DONALD BEAN was one of the members of a panel on civil rights at the weekly public forum sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Cleveland, on October 9, 1966. BEAN spoke as the newly elected chairman of CORE and said that his organization is going to work towards community organization for political purposes.

CV T-3 advised on August 29, 1967, that DONALD BEAN is not a member or sympathizer of the SWP. He stated that BEAN was invited to appear on the panel on civil rights at the forum mentioned above. He stated that BEAN became interested in the protest against the war in Vietnam when the National CORE Organization adopted a policy against United States intervention in Vietnam.

CV 100-27056

CV T-4 advised on October 16, 1967, that a meeting of the CPUSA Negro Commission was held at New York City October 14th and 15th at which "FRIEDA from Ohio" spoke of the mayoral campaign in Cleveland, stating that the party in Cleveland had influenced the labor movement in Cleveland to endorse CARL STOKES.

(No source of the Cleveland Office has furnished any information to indicate that the CP exercised any influence in the labor movement in Cleveland on behalf of STOKES.)

CV T-2 advised on November 14, 1967, that a CP meeting was held at the PHILIP BART apartment in Cleveland on November 10, 1967, at which there was discussion of past rioting by Negroes.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK told of how the recent Negro rioting had helped to awaken the white power structure. He stated "while the CP is not opposed to violence, we think the right way is by political means and unity between the Negroes and white people. When all other methods have been tried and fail, then there is nothing left but to resort to violence. The election of CARL STOKES was a great step in the right direction".

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PLANS TO GAIN INFLUENCE AMONG JFK YOUTH

CV T-1 advised on November 17, 1967, that a CP State Board Meeting was held November 10, 1967, at PHILIP BART's apartment. Among those present at this meeting was a visitor named MARION GAINES (phonetic) who was not a member of the CP. He is a Negro youth [redacted] and is the grandson of SAM LINNEN, who was present at this State Board meeting.

Ohio

CV T-2 advised additionally on November 14, 1967, that at the board meeting held at BART's apartment on November 10, 1967, it was announced that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT would be in Cleveland on December 7 and 8, 1967, and as a result, a house meeting was arranged to be held for him during his visit. MARION GAINES commented that he was a member of the JFK House and could have JFK House members attend this LIGHTFOOT meeting. GAINES stated he could assure those present that 200 or more JFK House members would be present for the LIGHTFOOT meeting. Source stated that at

CV 100-27056

this point, it was felt advisable to explain to GAINES who CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was, since GAINES admitted that he had never heard of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. ANTHONY KRCHMAREK explained LIGHTFOOT's political views and pointed out that LIGHTFOOT was a CP officer. GAINES said this made no difference and the JFK members would come to the meeting if he told them to do so. It was agreed that he would bring only a few of the JFK leaders to this LIGHTFOOT meeting, and if they liked what LIGHTFOOT had to say, a larger meeting could be planned for a later date.

JFK HOUSE

Sergeant JOHN J. UNGVARY, Cleveland, Ohio, Police Department, advised on January 13, 1967, that the JFK House was a privately owned and operated recreational center in the Negro neighborhood of Cleveland and was named both for JOHN F. KENNEDY and JOMO FREEDOM KENYATTA. UNGVARY stated that this JFK House was a center of black nationalism and that the house has been closed since July, 1966, because of Building Code violations.

CV T-2 advised on November 15, 1967, that at a Cedar Central CP Club meeting held November 11, 1967, it was decided that some of the Cleveland CORE leaders would also be invited to meet CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT while he was in Cleveland.

CV T-2 advised on December 7, 1967, that it was learned that day that LIGHTFOOT's plans had been changed and that he would not be in Cleveland as planned.

CV T-1 advised on December 15, 1967, that at a CP State Board Meeting held December 8, 1967, in Cleveland, FRIEDA KATZ inquired as to why CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was not in town. PHILIP BART explained that LIGHTFOOT could not make it, and besides the Negro youth who were to have been present were not organized.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK said that they had been unable to reach MARION GAINES for the past week and a half; that he had not returned their phone calls, and also that the JFK youth that the party wanted to organize, were not themselves organized.

CP CONTACT AT "CALL AND POST"

OH:0. CV T-2 advised on November 20, 1967, that a woman named DONNA ALLEN was in Cleveland on November 17, 1967, at the invitation of Citizens for Constitutional Rights (CCR), and to give a talk denouncing the HCUA. While DONNA ALLEN was in Cleveland, arrangements were made by FRIEDA KATZ for DONNA ALLEN to be interviewed by representatives of several newspapers. One of these interviews was with CHARLES LOEB, Advertising Director of the "Call and Post", a weekly Negro newspaper in Cleveland. OH:0. During discussions, LOEB said to DONNA ALLEN, "I agree with some of the things FRIEDA KATZ believes in, but some of the things she wants me to do with the 'Call and Post' I just won't do. I believe we should stay friendly with FRIEDA because we never know when we can help or may need each other".

CHARLES LOEB

CV T-12 advised on June 26, 1944, that CHARLES LOEB visited CP headquarters in Cleveland that day at which time he was criticized for not running the CP state convention story in the newspaper, "Call and Post", which story had been furnished him. LOEB contended he had not received the manuscript of this story. Same source advised on July 1, 1944, that on that day one of the CP officers in Cleveland commented that LOEB had told her two weeks ago that his view of communism had changed, but that he was not planning to join the organization as yet.

B. Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

1. Local Plans and Strategy

CV T-5 advised on October 12, 1967, that an SWP pre-convention discussion was held on October 1, 1967, in Cleveland, at which ERIC REINTHALER, leader of the SWP in Cleveland, stated that the local leadership of the Negro people--like CORE with its 18 members--is falling apart. REINTHALER said that now that CORE is rich, it is doing less for the Negro people; (source advised that by CORE being rich, REINTHALER was referring to money which CORE had received from the Ford Foundation).

CV 100-27056

CV T-6 advised on November 22, 1967, that a mid-west conference of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), was held in Cleveland on November 19, 1967, to celebrate the Russian Revolution with the principal speaker being JUDY WATTS, who was a member of the national committee of the YSA, an organizer of the black contingent from Detroit to the October 21st mobilization at the Pentagon, and who is secretary of the steering committee of the Chicago Black Peoples Convention. The gist of her talk was that the blacks and whites must work together if there is ever going to be a revolution in the United States. She stated that the system in the United States cannot produce freedom for the African Americans, which leaves nothing but revolution and that the black people will lead this struggle.

Source stated that this meeting was attended by both YSA and SWP personnel.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)

A characterization of YSA is contained in the appendix hereto.

ILH
CH:0
CV T-2 advised on December 12, 1967, that the SWP held a forum at SWP Headquarters in Cleveland on December 8, 1967, at which the three speakers were Negroes, being FRANKLIN ANDERSON, new chairman of Cleveland CORE, ALEX WEATHERS, a representative of the Students for Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Cleveland, and ROBERT BROWN of SNCC. The topic discussed was black power and its international implications.

ALEX WEATHERS

Member of Students for Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
CH:0

CV T-14 advised on January 28, 1964, that the YSA held its annual mid-west conference in Chicago, Illinois, on January 25-26, 1964, with ALEX WEATHERS from Cleveland, being in attendance.

CV T-3 advised on May 5, 1964, that there are only five members in the YSA in Cleveland, and WEATHERS is not one of these members, but he is considered a friend of the YSA.

CV 100-27056

ALEX WEATHERS was interviewed on September 22, 1964, by an FBI Agent at which time he advised that he did attend the Chicago YSA conference in January, 1964, having been invited to attend by ERIC REINTHALER, who he had met in the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE).

WEATHERS said he has since become suspicious of the objectives of YSA, and after considerable research concerning it, has concluded that the YSA and the SWP both want to use the Negro for their benefit and do not want to help the Negro. He stated he was never a member of the YSA or the SWP; that he has turned against both of these organizations, and now has the reputation of being a "red-baiter".

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

A. Picket Line Protesting Death Sentence to Negro Teenager

CV T-7 advised on December 16, 1967, that on that day thirteen Negro males picketed in front of the Cuyahoga County Jail in Cleveland, protesting the death sentence meted out to a Negro teenager convicted of slaying a Cleveland policeman. One of those in the picket line was RON LUCAS.

RON LUCAS

CV T-8 advised on August 9, 1966, that RON LUCAS has been active in the CP Youth Club in Cleveland and that at a CP State Board meeting held in Cleveland on August 3, 1966, LUCAS was appointed a member of the Ohio CP State Board.

This same source advised on April 10, 1967, that there was at that time discussion of suspending LUCAS from the CP because of his nonpayment of dues, and because of his criticism of the CP leadership. The question of suspending him was presented to the Ohio CP State Board on March 31, 1967.

CV 100-27056

CV T-1 advised on November 6, 1967, that LUCAS is no longer active in the Communist Party in Cleveland.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER GROUPS

CV T-2 advised on November 14, 1967, that at a CP meeting held at PHILIP BART's apartment on November 10, 1967, it was agreed that the CP must become more active in the labor movement, in street groups, and in such organizations as CORE. BART commented "that is why it is very important that ALONZO HOWARD continues to work in CORE. FRANKLIN ANDERSON, who ran for councilman in Cleveland says he is willing to meet and talk with us at any time".

CV T-2 advised on November 3, 1967, that FRIEDA KATZ recently stated that the person who was to have been chairman of the DONNA ALLEN meeting in Cleveland had a heart attack and consequently cannot be present. FRIEDA stated that JOHN CLOUD and FRANKLIN ANDERSON, both of CORE, have been very cooperative, and ANDERSON said he will be willing to be chairman of the DONNA ALLEN meeting, but will have to get an okay from the CORE executive board.

CV T-2 advised on November 20, 1967, that the DONNA ALLEN meeting was held in Cleveland on November 17, 1967. SIDNEY PECK was chairman and FRANKLIN ANDERSON, the new chairman of Cleveland CORE, also shared the platform and made the collection speech.

CV T-2 advised on December 7, 1967, that for some time in the past PHILIP BART has been trying to arrange a meeting between himself, FRIEDA KATZ, and ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, and the leaders of Cleveland CORE.

DONALD BEAN, former chairman of Cleveland CORE, had promised to meet with these CP leaders, but the promise was never kept. Since BEAN has been replaced by FRANKLIN ANDERSON as the Cleveland CORE chairman, BART now wants to arrange this meeting for December 7, 1967, since CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT will be in town at that time and he could then meet with the CORE leaders.

CV 99-87056

Source stated that when FRANKLIN ANDERSON was approached concerning this prospective meeting with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, ANDERSON stated he would have to discuss it with the other CORE leaders. ANDERSON subsequently advised that while he was personally not opposed to such a meeting, the other CORE members were very frankly not interested. It was explained to ANDERSON that PHILIP BART thought ANDERSON had done well in his bid for election to Cleveland City Council, even though he lost, and that BART wanted to explain long range plans for the next election. After this explanation ANDERSON suggested that BART telephone him concerning this matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A P P E N D I X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cleveland, Ohio

January 26, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-27056

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of Special Agent ROBERT E. KEHRES, dated and captioned as above at Cleveland.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Date 2-15-68

To: ☒ Director.

FILE # Bufile 100-442529

Att.:

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

RE: Report of SA ROBERT E.
KEHRES dated 1-26-68 at
Cleveland, and Bu 0-17
dated 2-12-68.

☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # _____

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Send to _____

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

RACIAL MATTERS

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 5, para. 2, line 1 reads, "CV T-3 advised on March 29, 1965..." It should read, "CV T-13 advised on March 29, 1965..." Please correct your copies of report.

cc: Cincinnati (RM)
New York (RM)

SAC CHARLES G. CUSICK

Office CLEVELAND

See reverse side

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, HONOLULU (100-6356) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

DATE: 1/25/68

ReBulet to Albany 8/28/64.

No information has been received indicating any
Communist influence in racial matters in Hawaii.

2-Bureau (RAM)
1-Honolulu

LSB:mbd
(3)

REC 8

100-442529-2458

12 JAN 26 1968

5 FEB 6 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/25/68

FROM : SAC, LOUISVILLE (100-4722) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

OO: NEW YORK

Re Louisville letter dated 10/31/67.

No data pertaining to this matter developed since submission of referenced letter.

- 100-442529-2459
- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
 - 1 - Louisville
- GWH/plh
(4)

REC 22

EX-108

JAN 29 1968



5 FEB 6 1968

76

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/25/68

FROM : *AKP/cmt.* SAC, JACKSONVILLE (100-670) (P*)

SUBJECT:

CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Eric [unclear]

Re JK letter to Bureau dated 10/27/67.

The Jacksonville Office has no information to report in captioned matter.

D. [unclear]

[Signature]

100-442529-940

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
2 - Jacksonville
HDS:pas
(6)

REC-52

EX 106

100-442529-2460

3 JAN 29 1968

[Signature]



5 FEB 6 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-22) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

DATE: 1/30/68

D. A. [unclear]

Re Columbia letter to Bureau, 11/1/67.

In the absence of any pertinent information, this letter is being submitted in lieu of the quarterly report.

un

100-22-270

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- 2 - Columbia
- FHA:fha
- (5)

REC-68

102

100-22-2461

3 JAN 31 1968

Rach [unclear]
NINE



587
5 FEB 6 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ST. LOUIS	NEW YORK	1/30/68	1/22 - 25/68
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
		WALTER A. HILGENDORF	jtc
0 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		CHARACTER OF CASE	
		IS - C EX 108	

Report of SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF dated
10/30/67, at St. Louis.

- P* -

ST. LOUIS DIVISION

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Will furnish a report by 5/1/68.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains information from current security informants and the unauthorized disclosure of data contained therein might tend to reveal their identities and compromise their future effectiveness, thereby affecting adversely the national defense. Examples of this are SL T-1, SL T-2, SL T-3, and SL T-4.

**SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE**

- 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago (RM)
- 2 - 12D, OSI, CAFB, Ill. (RM)
- 2 - 113th MI Group III, St. Louis
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - St. Louis (100-19352)

COPIES DESTROYED

333DEC 30 1970

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-442529 2462 REC-34

11 JAN 31 1968

NOTATION'S

AGENCY	ACF-55,55, APT 157 RAOI DTU		
REQUEST RECD.			
DATE FWD.	3/1/68		
HOW FWD.			
BY	AEH		

NOTATIONS

~~10~~

~~RACIAL INT. SEC.~~

ICC Rpt. 10/1/50

10/1/50

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STAMP BOOK
P. 100
8/12
10/1/64
500000

62 FEB 19 1968

SL

100-19352

INFORMANTS:

<u>IDENTITY</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
✓ SL T-1 is	
✓ SL T-2 is	
✓ SL T-3 is	
✓ SL T-4 is	

b3
b7D
b7E

B*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - NISO, Chicago (RM)
2 - 12D OSI, CAFB, Illinois (RM)
2 - 113th MI Group III, St. Louis (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report of: SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF
Date: January 30, 1968

Office: ST. LOUIS

Field Office File No.: SL 100-19352

Bureau File No.: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

MO. HERSHEL J. WALKER, Chairman, Missouri District CP, asserted there is disinterest among indigent Negroes regarding draft card burnings and related activities. He stated such Negroes believe military service offers a good life and opportunities for decent jobs arise from the prosperity created by war. WALKER has endeavored to attract members of a young Negro group known as Nkrumahs to CP, has suggested revival Negro American Labor Council as preliminary step toward establishing local Labor-Sane group. CP members belong to St. Louis Chapter NAACP but exercise no control. RICHARD H. CLARKE, Organizer, St. Louis Branch SWP, picketed with members of ACTION at Kiel Auditorium, St. Louis, Mo., 10/67, protesting all white society affair. Declared PERCY GREEN, Chairman of ACTION, has indicated willingness to work with him. MO.

- P* -

DETAILS: AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party (CP)

Following the National Conference for New Politics held in Chicago, Illinois during late August and early September, 1967,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

SL

100-19352

an organization was established in St. Louis called "Committee on New Politics in 1968 and Beyond" (CNP). Its headquarters are at 3519 Easton Avenue. CP members were instrumental in its organization.

(SL T-1 October 23, 1967)

In mid-November, 1967, HERSHEL J. WALKER, Chairman, Missouri District CP, observed that CNP had finally "gotten off the ground" and that he had been instrumental in securing a church which would "work with" the group. WALKER commented this should help a great deal in attracting young Negroes and ultimately getting them involved in Vietnam peace protests. WALKER further said the best way to reach the Negro is through his church and his minister. Even if only three or four young Negroes are ultimately involved in CNP via the church connection this will represent a substantial accomplishment.

(SL T-2 November 21, 1967)

On November 4, 1967, WALKER stated he had spent the preceding week talking to pastors of various churches in St. Louis trying to find one who would dedicate his church as a sanctuary for harboring young men trying to escape the draft, including draft card burners, conscientious objectors and similar individuals. He did not indicate whether he had been successful but remarked that a cooperative pastor would have to be one who "more or less owns his church" because heavy pressure would be applied against him by the Press and local and federal governments. WALKER then observed draft card burnings and similar demonstrations had made little headway among the poor Negro because he believes his only escape from poverty is in the service or in obtaining a job in a society made prosperous by war. Hence the poor Negro believes the war benefits him more than a peace time society. This has caused a vast disinterest in the peace movement on his part.

(SL T-2 November 8, 1967)

In discussing a meeting sponsored by a group known as "St. Louis Draft Resistance" held December 4, 1967 at Berea Presbyterian Church where youths turned in draft cards, WALKER

SL

100-19352

complained about the few Negroes who attended and said he is somewhat at a loss to understand why Negro youths are afraid to sign pledges or turn in draft cards. WALKER's comment was made December 9, 1967.

(SL T-2 December 15, 1967)

A meeting of local CP leaders was held November 27, 1967 to discuss the organization of a St. Louis Chapter, Labor - Sane. WALKER conceded no success has been achieved thus far and he feels there must be organized effort to keep rank and file trade unionists from becoming involved in peace issues. WALKER suggested that a local chapter of Negro American Labor Council be reactivated as a preliminary step toward establishing a Labor - Sane group. A veteran CP member commented this is virtually impossible without the help of some prominent local Negro. No specific plans were formulated for a reactivation.

(SL T-3 December 21, 1967)

At a CP group meeting, November 18, 1967, WALKER announced he feels it is urgent for a key CP member to work closely with CHARLES TERRELL and his youth group; that TERRELL needs help with these young Negro males and has specifically asked for assistance. A veteran CP member was designated to serve in this capacity. MO.

(SL T-3 November 28, 1967)

CHARLES TERRELL is a Negro leader of a local group of Negro hoodlums and dropouts known as the Nkrumahs. He and his gang have been wooed by both the CP and Black Power advocates in St. Louis during recent months. TERRELL attended a CP Marxist school held during September, 1967 in St. Louis. MO.

(SL T-3 November 30, 1967)

B. Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The St. Louis Branch SWP and the SWP are characterized in the attached appendix.

At a meeting of the St. Louis Branch SWP, October 9, 1967, RICHARD H. CLARKE, Organizer of the Branch, stated he has

been in contact with PERCY GREEN, Chairman of ACTION. CLARKE asserted he joined GREEN and other members of ACTION when picketing Kiel Auditorium in downtown St. Louis during the recent Veiled Prophet Ball. This social event is held annually and participants are all white and members of the upper strata of St. Louis society. GREEN and his group protested the spending of large sums of money for the event which could better be channeled to the poor and he also protested the fact that no Negroes participated.

At this meeting of the St. Louis Branch SWP, CLARKE commented that he has "become closer with GREEN", and the latter has indicated a willingness to work with him on various projects. CLARKE did not enumerate them, except to comment that he hoped to organize a "Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle Committee" with PERCY GREEN participating.

✓ MD. ✓ FRED HALSTEAD and PAUL BOUTELLE are SWP candidates for President and Vice President of the United States respectively.

ACTION consists of individuals, primarily Negroes, who split off from the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) in St. Louis because they did not feel that organization sufficiently militant.

(SL T-4 October 10, 1967)

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

b6
b7C

A. Communist Party

A meeting of local CP leaders was held November 25, 1967 at which HERSHEL J. WALKER expressed disappointment that CHARLES TERRELL, whom he had invited and who promised to come, failed to appear. After a short meeting WALKER and other key CP leaders went to his residence at [REDACTED] TERRELL and four young Negro males were there and TERRELL announced that some of the young men wanted to tell WALKER how they felt about the war in Vietnam. None of the young men were identified other than by first names. One young man stated that Negroes are being used to fight a white man's war while they are still slaves in the United States. In response to a question by WALKER he stated

he is registered for the draft. WALKER asked him if he would be willing to turn in his draft card and was given a non-committal answer. WALKER pursued the matter no further. Another young Negro male said he feels Negroes should stay out of the Army and use whatever means possible to do so. Still another young Negro advised he opposes the war in Vietnam because he feels it does not help the Negroes. He declared money is wasted on fighting the war which could be used to build homes and give people jobs. WALKER asked him if he would be willing to turn in his draft card and was given an affirmative answer. WALKER again did not pursue the matter. There was then a discussion as to whether the Negro in the United States can "win complete freedom" without the aid and support of white America. Two of the young Negroes stated they felt the Negroes must accomplish this alone using any means possible while the other two felt they must have the help of whites.

~~HORACE MC~~ GILL described as a Negro college student, MO who has asserted he was at one time a Black Muslim and is now a student of Marxism, then entered the room and participated in the discussion. He argued that Negroes cannot trust white people because they are liars and cheats. WALKER protested mildly saying that these are strong words and one can find Negroes who also lie, cheat and steal from one another.

(SL T-3 November 30, 1967)

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

In 1967 only 2 CP members were active in the St. Louis Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). They have exercised no control. Most CP members in St. Louis are also NAACP members but do not attend the meetings or participate otherwise in the organization.

(SL T-3 October 17, 1967)

SL

100-19352

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
ST. LOUIS BRANCH

In October, 1960, a source advised that the St. Louis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was organized in 1938 and has functioned continuously since that time as an affiliate of the National SWP. Its aims and purposes are the same as the National SWP.

In May, 1967, another source stated that the St. Louis Branch SWP is still functioning as an affiliate of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

St. Louis, Missouri

January 30, 1968

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF dated January 30, 1968, at St. Louis.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/29/68

FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (100-14403) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

OO: New York

Re IP letter, 10/30/67.

No information has been developed during the period
11/1/67 - 1/31/68, suitable for inclusion in a report in captioned
matter.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Indianapolis

TM:ndv
(5)

REC-38

100-442529-2463

RACIAL INT. SECT.



FEB 2 1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: January 30, 1968

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-18290) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS-C

Re New Haven letter to Bureau, 10/31/67

During the period 11/1/67 through 1/31/68, New Haven received no information pertaining to captioned matter. In view of the above, no report is being submitted at this time.

Upon receipt of pertinent information, the Bureau will be promptly advised, in accordance with Bureau instructions.

100-606940
② - Bureau
1 - Boston (Info)
1 - New York (Info)
1 - New Haven
WCH:FGM
(5)

REGISTERED MAIL

EX-109

REC-38

100-442529-2464

18 JAN 31 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F47
80 FEB 7 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/29/68

FROM : SAC, ANCHORAGE (100-2334)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

OO NEW YORK

Re Anchorage letter to Bureau 11/1/67.

There is no Communist Party activity in Alaska at this time and the Anchorage Office has no pertinent information to report in this matter.

2 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Anchorage
DEC-cch
(5)

REC 16

EX-113

16 FEB 1 1968



5010-108

163
5 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/26/68

FROM : SAC, SAVANNAH (100-5131) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: New York)

Re Savannah letter to Bureau dated 10/27/67.

No information concerning captioned matter has been developed within the Savannah Division since submission of referenced communication. This letter is, therefore, being submitted in lieu of a report.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- 1 - Savannah

JM/dkm
(5)

100-442529-2466
REC-20

FEB 2 1971
Jg



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/30/68

FROM : SAC, DENVER (100-8997) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
DENVER DIVISION
IS - C

No information has come to the attention of the Denver Office during the past three months which would normally be reported under the above caption.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Denver
JCL:pgr
(3)

REC- 69 100-442529-2467
22 FEB 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.
INT. SEC.



6 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 1/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, BUTTE (100-8414) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
OO: New York

D. [unclear]
R. [unclear]

Enclosed for the Bureau are five and for New York one copy of a LHM.

The first source is [redacted] and [redacted]; the second source is [redacted]

Key [unclear]
7/15

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~, because data from these Informants could reasonably result in the identification of Confidential Informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

ENCLOSURE

- (3) - Bureau (Encs. 5) (Reg.) (AM)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (Reg.) (AM)
- 3 - Butte

1cc 406

THZ/ar

(7) *Antel LHM*

1cc 937

DEPT LHM 1/24/68

REC-59

100-442529-2468

G.C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DD: ISD, CRD, RAO

FW FORW: *R/S*

TE FORW: *1/30/68*

BY: *D.W. [unclear]*

18 JAN 25 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

62 FEB 7 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

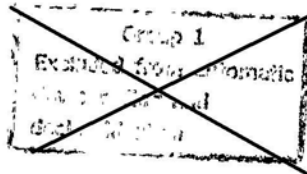
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Butte, Montana, 59701
January 22, 1968

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on January 22, 1968, made available the following document:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



100-47121-210
ENCLOSURE

OUTLINE FOR CLUB DISCUSSION

on

"BLACK POWER AND LIBERATION: A Communist View" by Claude Lightfoot

The club leadership should arrange that the pamphlet be purchased by every member in advance of the scheduled discussion. Every member should study the pamphlet and come prepared to answer the questions, participate in the discussion, raise points that need clarification, etc. For a fruitful discussion, it is essential that the participants relate their own experiences.

From the very beginning of the discussion, attention should be focused on the basic and most important points which in their totality encompass the Communist view on Black Power and Liberation so that the whole of the program of the Party is understood. For this we suggest the reading of the following paragraph as an introduction to the opening session:

"Comrade Lightfoot speaks of the unprecedented problems this nation of ours faces today; the growth of fascist danger, the germs of disunity when unity is the most urgent question, the need for a radical change, etc., to understand the reason for the growing crisis. The pamphlet poses six basic questions. These are: 1) the character of the present period; 2) what is new in racism; 3) the nature of the present wave of black nationalism; 4) the methods of struggle required for today; 5) an estimate of the Communist Party's position on the Negro question in the last nine years in the light of today's requirements and tasks; 6) what the vanguard role of the Party is in the circumstances of today."

The reading of this paragraph should be repeated at the opening of every session so that the participants see the interconnection of the above six questions even though the discussion will proceed on each question presented in this outline. The club should decide on the number of sessions to be devoted to the discussion.

* * *

Question I.

It is said that the present moment can be characterized as one charged with great economic, political and social turbulence.

- a) Give examples of this turbulence and show the various strata of the American people involved in it.
- b) What is the significance of the merging efforts by the peace and civil rights forces? (Pp. 3-7)

Question II.

The pamphlet points to the danger of growing clashes and cleavages between forces that have much in common:

- a) What are these clashes and cleavages?
- b) Discuss the racist counter-offensive and its causes, the serious weaknesses in the labor movement which are an obstacle to black-white unity. What is your experience in this and how are you fighting to overcome racism? (Pp. 8-15)

Question III.

Is it true that racism is a major contributor to moods of black nationalism? What is the main content of nationalism today and its new features as compared with the previous period? Discuss the progressive and reactionary aspects of nationalism and the Party's position in relation to it. Be concrete in your examples. (Pp. 8-25)

Question IV..

What is the Party's estimate with regard to violent actions in the black ghettos by black people? What are the main problems to be solved in Negro and Puerto Rican communities, and what is the role of the white Communists? (Pp. 26-31)

Question V

Comrade Lightfoot says that the illumination of our tasks requires a review of our work in the last 10 years.

- a) Is it true that during this period we had a wrong line on the Negro question?
- b) What is the meaning of: "The Negro question is a national question"?
- c) Did our policy on this question manifest weaknesses and failures?
Explain and prove your points. (Pp. 32-36)

Question VI.

What is the Party's view on integration and black power? Who is the main enemy of the black people and of the American working people? (Pp. 37-40)

Question VII.

Explain the meaning and the application of the Party's policy of black-white unity based on equality. What are your experiences? (pp. 41-43)

Question VIII.

The Party stresses the question of our work among the white workers in the unions and white communities to promote black-white unity based on self-interest. Explain this fully and give your experience.

Question IX.

How do we go about introducing a class content into the present wave of black nationalism, and what are the tasks of the white and black Communists? Be concrete. (Pp 29-32)

Question X.

How are we to build the Party among the Negro people, especially the young militant Negroes? Are there any obstacles that hinder this? Discuss fully and concretely and state how you and the club propose to do it. (Pp. 44-46)

* * * *

Suggested Additional Readings:

Political Affairs, February 1968

Henry Winston, Negro-White Unity

Speech by James Forman in The Worker, January 7, 1968

The Negro Question, Resolution of the 18th National Convention, CPUSA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 29, 1966, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was elected a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, at its 18th National Convention, held in New York City, June 22 - 26, 1966.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 4* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 1/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, BUTTE (100-8414) (P*)
SUBJECT: CIRM
OO: New York

*D. [unclear]
C. D. [unclear]
Key*

Enclosed for the Bureau are five and for New York one copy of a LHM.

The source referred to is [redacted] and [redacted]

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~, because data from these Informants could reasonably result in the identification of Confidential Informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

*1/15
R. [unclear]*

- ENCLOSURE*
- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 5) (Reg.) (AM)
 - 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (Reg.) (AM)
 - 3 - Butte

THZ/ar
(7)

REC 48

100 - 4 - 2469

*ICC
Airtel
LH*

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~ISI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

~~ISI~~: ISD, CRD, RAO

HOW FORW: *R/s*

DATE FORW: *1/30/68*

BY: *DAW/1/30/68*

18 JAN 25 1968

RAMA [unclear] SEC

54 FEB 8 1968

Approved: *[Signature]* Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

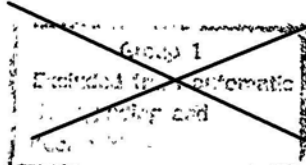
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Butte, Montana, 59701
January 22, 1968

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on January 22, 1968, made available the following document:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ENCLOSURE

100-442509-2409

MEMORANDUM

on

NEGRO HISTORY MONTH

February 1968

Issued by National Education Department, CPUSA

Introduction

In 1926 the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, headed by the eminent scholar Dr. Carter G. Woodson, initiated the observance in the month of February of Negro History Week. This year it will be celebrated from February 11 through February 17. Over the years, Negro History Week has become an important American institution and a highlight in the struggle for Negro freedom. And with this the practice has grown of extending the observance to the entire month of February as Negro History Month.

In past years the Communist Party has been in the forefront of the fight to secure the widest and most meaningful celebration of Negro History Week and Negro History Month. A notable case in point was the initiative of Benjamin J. Davis during the years 1943-1949 in which he served as a Communist member of the New York City Council. Each year the Council adopted a resolution introduced by Comrade Davis, requesting the Mayor to proclaim Negro History Week officially and call for its proper observance. The following is the text of the resolution adopted in 1949:

RESOLUTION

on

REQUESTING MAYOR TO PROCLAIM WEEK OF
FEBRUARY 6th TO 15th AS NEGRO HISTORY WEEK,
AND TO CALL UPON SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES AND
OTHER INSTITUTIONS TO EFFECT PROPER OBSERV-
ANCE THEREOF.

January 11, 1949

By Mr. Davis -

WHEREAS, The week of February 6th through 13th has been designated as Negro History Week by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and

WHEREAS, Negro History Week has been officially observed annually throughout the nation since 1926 as a recognition of the many outstanding contributions made by Negro Americans to the cultural, scientific, educational, political and industrial life of the nation, and

WHEREAS, It is especially significant, in the present state of world affairs, that the commendable role played by Negro Americans in the historic and democratic struggles of our country during war and peace be widely observed to help strengthen the unity of the American people in their demands for continued and lasting world peace, and

WHEREAS, Observance of Negro History Week at this time will provide further opportunity to dedicate ourselves to the elimination of certain prejudices and discriminatory practices in our country which serve to limit the fullest participation of Negro Americans and other minority groups in the economic, political, cultural and social life of America, thereby endangering the peace of the world,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT

RESOLVED, That the Council of the City of New York requests the Mayor to officially proclaim the week of February 6th through February 13th as Negro History Week in the City of New York, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Council of the City of New York requests the Mayor to call upon the schools, libraries and other public bodies and institutions to conduct proper observances of Negro History Week through such means as class-room lectures, displays, celebrations or other public functions.

ADOPTED - January 11, 1949.

* * *

Tasks for 1968

Recent years have witnessed great advances in the struggle for national liberation, particularly in Africa. And in this country they have witnessed a tremendous upsurge of the struggle for Negro liberation. In the light of these developments the celebration of Negro History Month and its utilization as an instrument in the struggle takes on greater significance than ever before, especially in the fight to involve white Americans.

February 1968 should become the occasion to promote observance of Negro History Month by schools and churches, by trade unions and other organizations. It should become the occasion for the organization of lectures, displays, affairs and other activities in all communities. All Party organizations should give serious attention to the stimulation of the widest variety of public activities.

Within the Party, discussions should be organized in club meetings and other gatherings on Negro history and on the Negro freedom struggle today. Special attention should be given to the following:

1. Study and discussion of Claude Lightfoot's report to the National Party Conference of October 14-15: Black Power and Liberation. A question outline for such study and discussion accompanies this memorandum. These should include discussions devoted especially to the fight against racism as an alien ideology and on the development of struggle among white Americans.

2. Study and discussion of the February issue of Political Affairs, a special 96-page issue devoted entirely to additional material from the Party Conference and to other articles on Negro history and Negro liberation.

3. Plans for the widest distribution of both the Lightfoot report and the February Political Affairs. Also, plans for the distribution of the newly-published Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois.

4. Public forums during February to be devoted to the subject of Black Power and Negro Liberation.

5. Organization of city-wide or district-wide ideological conferences on Negro liberation.

6. Exhibits on the role of the Communist Party in the Negro liberation struggle in progressive bookshops and other suitable locations.

LITERATURE

Claude Lightfoot,
BLACK POWER AND
LIBERATION: A
COMMUNIST VIEW
(New Outlook) .50
A pamphlet to be read,
studied and widely dis-
tributed.

Just issued by International Publishers:
THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W.E.B. DU BOIS,
edited by Herbert Aptheker.

A history of nearly a century of struggle of the Negro people by one of its great leaders. Written by Dr. Du Bois in his 90th year in Ghana, the manuscript was saved after the military coup there.

An important addition to your library...

An ideal gift... \$10.00

New Outlook Pamphlets:

Henry Winston, Negro-White Unity .25

Henry Winston, New Colonialism: U.S. Style .25

New Outlook Pamphlets: (cont'd)

William L. Patterson, <u>Ben Davis: Crusader for</u> <u>Negro Freedom and Socialism</u>	.50
James E. Jackson, <u>The Meaning of Black Power</u>	.15
Gus Hall, <u>Negro Freedom Is in the Interest of</u> <u>EVERY American</u>	.10

By Herbert Aptheker

<u>Negro History: Its Lessons for Our Time</u> (New Century)	.15
<u>Towards Negro Freedom</u> (International) special	.50
<u>Essays in the History of the American Negro</u> (International)	1.65
<u>American Negro Slave Revolts</u> (International)	2.25
<u>A Documentary History of the Negro People in the</u> <u>United States</u> (International) 2 volumes, each	2.25
<u>Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion</u> (Humanities Press)	1.95

International Books:

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, <u>The Civil War in the</u> <u>United States</u>	1.95
James S. Allen, <u>Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy</u>	1.85
Hugh Mulzac, <u>A Star to Steer By</u>	1.85
Philip S. Foner, ed., <u>The Life and Writings of</u> <u>Frederick Douglass</u> Four Volumes, boxed	12.50
Earl Conrad, <u>Harriet Tubman: Negro Soldier and</u> <u>Abolitionist</u>	.50
Jack Woddis, <u>Introduction to Neo-Colonialism</u>	1.25

By W.E.B. Du Bois

<u>The Black Flame</u> (New Century	3 volumes	10.00
<u>John Brown</u> (International)		2.25
<u>A.B.C. of Color</u> (Seven Seas)		1.00
<u>The World and Africa</u> (International)		2.45

Other Books:

Langston Hughes, <u>The Big Sea</u> (Hill and Wang)	1.95
Langston Hughes, <u>The Panther and the Lash:</u>	
<u>Poems of our Time</u> (Knopf)	1.95
Arna Bontemps, ed., <u>American Negro Poetry</u> (Hill and Wang)	1.45
Lerone Bennett, Jr. <u>Before the Mayflower</u> (Penguin)	2.45

Magazines:

POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the Theoretical Journal of the CPUSA, 50¢ a copy, \$5.00 a year. Read the special enlarged February issue devoted entirely to the Negro liberation struggle.

FREEDOMWAYS, Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement, \$1.00 a copy, \$3.50 a year. Must reading for all Communists and progressives.

* * *

The above literature may be purchased at your local progressive bookshop or ordered from the publishers:

International Publishers
381 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

New Outlook Publishers
32 Union Square East
New York, N.Y. 10003

(New Century books and pamphlets may be obtained from New Outlook Publishers.)

* * *

- 6 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 7* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : *NAD* SAC, MOBILE (100-10-F) (P*)

SUBJECT: *CIRM*
IS - C

DATE: 1/30/68

D. M. [signature]

ReMOlet to the Bureau dated 10/27/67.

No information was developed concerning captioned matter in this Division during the quarter ending 12/31/67.

fil No CP group has been active in this Division. The only CP member is an elderly Negro male, living at Montgomery, Alabama.

Accordingly, no report is being submitted in this matter.

77

REC 7

EX 110

100-442529-2470

- 100-806970*
- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM) (Info)
 - 1 - Mobile

MLC:mlc
(4)

1 FEB 0 15 00 68

11 FEB 2 1968



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SALT LAKE CITY	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/30/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/17-26/68
TITLE OF CASE <u>COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS</u>		REPORT MADE BY W. RULON PAXMAN	TYPED BY dy
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA W. RULON PAXMAN, dated 10/31/67
at Salt Lake City.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ since data reported from SU T-1 through SU T-3 could reasonably result in the identification of Confidential Informants of continuing value and compromise effectiveness thereof.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

COPIES DESTROYED		DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
APPROVED 333DEC 30 1970	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	100-442529 2471 REC-24	
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (REG. AM) 1 - MIG, Fort Douglas, Utah (REG) 1 - OSI, 14th District, Lowry Air Force Base, Denver, Colorado (REG) 1 - CO - NISO, San Francisco (REG.) 1 - New York (Info) (REG. AM.) 2 - Salt Lake City (100-9845)		3 FEB 1 1968	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report - SEC. SER Notations

Agency	Request Recd.	DATE FORW.	HOW FORW.	BY
		4/1/68	FILE	163

✓ FEB 13 1968

100-442529-806970

SU 100-9845

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant

Location

✓ SU T-1

Characterization of
Utah Coordinating Committee
for New Politics; ETHEL
C. HALE

✓ SU T-2

(Requested)

SU 100-9845-157

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

✓ SU T-3

LEADS

SALT LAKE CITY

AT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Submit quarterly reports to reach the Bureau by
February 1, May 1, August 1 and November 1 of each year.

-B*-
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - MIG, Fort Douglas, Utah (REG.)
1 - OSI, 14th District, Lowry Air Force
Base, Denver, Colorado (REG.)
1 - CO - NISO, San Francisco (REG.)

Copy to:

Report of: W. RULON PAXMAN
Date: 1/30/68

Office: Salt Lake City, Utah

Field Office File #: 100-9845

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: The Communist Party (CP) of Utah has received from CP, USA, National Headquarters, New York City, New York, material suitable for use in work among Negroes. CP of Utah has not utilized this material by implementation. National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People (NAACP), Salt Lake City, has no present members who are members of the CP of Utah.

- P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information has been developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

The Communist Party (CP) of Utah received from the CP, USA National Headquarters, New York City, New York, a three-page mimeographed article entitled "Proposals On Long, Hot Summer and Beyond." This is described as a background document used in the June, 1967, National Committee Meeting held in New York City and calls for immediate mass action by the CP against a conspiracy to provoke and slaughter Negroes in Ghettos during the Summer of 1967. It includes an outline of an emergency program, including demand for jobs, housing, prosecution of the police and National Guard in certain instances and other measures.

The above item was received by the CP of Utah through its cover address, P.O. Box 2485, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84110.

(SU T-1, 11/15/67)

The following items were addressed to P.O. Box 2485, Salt Lake City, Utah:

(1) A letter dated November 13, 1967, addressed to "All Districts" from the National Organization Department. The letter states that material is being furnished from the conference on "New Stages in the Struggle for Negro Freedom."

(2) A two-page summary of proposals entitled "Conference on Strategy and Tactics in the New Stages of Struggle for Negro Liberation (10/14-15/67)--Report of Panel on Work in the White Community (approved by the conference)." This outlines briefly the problem and sets out measures that can be taken to meet the problem.

(3) A four-page article entitled "The Afro-American in the Arts Today," which deals with the contribution of Negroes to the arts. The article includes suggestions for improving the status of Negroes in the arts.

(SU T-2, 11/21/67)

The CP of Utah, in the latter part of October, 1967, received the previously-listed three items through the mails from the CP, USA National Headquarters. These were received through P.O. Box 2485, Salt Lake City, Utah.

(SU T-1, 11/29/67)

None of the items received by the CP of Utah from CP, USA National Headquarters pertaining to Negro matters have been utilized by the CP of Utah through implementation of any type. In most instances only a few key members of the CP of Utah have read these items.

(SU T-1, 1/24/68)

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

On October 27, 1967, the Utah Council for Constitutional Liberties (UCCL) held a meeting in Salt Lake City. During the meeting it was stated that representatives of various organizations would be asked to attend a meeting of the Utah Coordinating Committee for New Politics (UCCNP). One of those present who was a member of the Salt Lake City Branch of the NAACP, was asked to seek to get the NAACP to participate in the UCCNP.

(SU T-3, 10/30/67)

The Communist Party of Utah considers the Utah Coordinating Committee For Political and Social Action, also known as Utah Coordinating Committee For Political Action, Utah Coordinating Committee For New Politics, as part of the new left in Utah. The CP of Utah was trying to make this into a workable organization for coordinating new left activities in Utah.

(SU T-1, 11/15/67)

✓ A characterization of UCCL is contained in the appendix hereto.

Reverend PALMER S. ROSS, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is now the President of the Salt Lake City Branch of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He is the pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 241 East Sixth South, Salt Lake City.

There have been no instances during the past three months when the question of communist infiltration has come before the board of the Salt Lake City NAACP. ROSS has, however, on one occasion stated to the board that association with groups or persons who could be friendly to communism should be avoided. He has no reason to believe that any present members of the Branch are also members of the CP.

ROSS is personally opposed to the use of demonstrations for achieving civil rights ends. He feels that civil rights problems can better be solved in conferences with people of influence and by membership and participation in groups interested in furthering civil rights for all people. He recognizes that in Utah there is the special problem of the attitude of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) toward the Negro, since a Negro may become a member of that church but may not be considered for the church's priesthood, from which all church leadership is drawn. He considers that progress is being made in the field of open housing in Utah and is personally of the opinion that this may be better achieved by convincing the proper people of its rightness rather than through law. He has not definitely made up his mind on this, however.

b6
b7c

Dr. ROSS doubts that there is any real danger of racial violence in Utah but tries to remain alert to possibilities of violence and hopes to avoid outside influences in the racial field. He feels that in the long run the best interests of Negroes are served by complete cooperation with law enforcement.

(Dr. PALMER S. ROSS, [REDACTED])
[REDACTED]

1/17/68)

There are currently approximately 390 paid-up members of the Salt Lake City Branch of the NAACP. Problems continue to exist for Negroes and other minorities with respect to open housing in Utah, but there appears to be some improvement

in this situation in the recent past. The attitude of the Mormon Church toward Negroes continues to be a problem in Utah because of the fact that the Mormon Church is the dominant religious group. There is no indication that a solution of this problem exists.

The NAACP in Salt Lake City has held no demonstrations during the past three months nor does it plan any at the present time.

Reverend PALMER S. ROSS of the African Methodist Episcopal Church is now the President of the NAACP. He appears to be the type of person who will prefer to operate by means of speeches before various groups and personal contacts with people of influence, rather than through demonstrations, in the solving of civil rights problems. He, on one occasion, mentioned to the Board of Directors of the NAACP that Negroes should eschew any contact with persons who could be associated with communism.

There are no suspected members of the CP who are considered to be in a position to materially influence the NAACP in its policies. Included among the recently current members of the NAACP is the following:

ETHEL C. HALE, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] membership expires December 31,
1967.

b6
b7c

(SU T-3, 1/16/68)

ETHEL C. HALE was formerly a member of the CP of Utah. She became inactive for personal reasons and as of December, 1967, was no longer considered a member of the CP of Utah.

(SU T-1, 12/20/67.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UTAH COUNCIL FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

FREDRICK LEE HEUSER, Sandy, Utah, in May, 1955, stated he was associated with the Communist Party (CP) of Utah as a member and leader from 1948 to April, 1955. In April, 1955, HEUSER reported the Utah Council For Constitutional Liberties (UCCL) was organized at the specific instructions of the Rocky Mountain Regional leaders of the CP for the purpose of fighting Smith Act prosecutions. HEUSER stated that WAYNE HOLLEY, Utah State Chairman of the CP, organized the UCCL in April, 1955. HEUSER also reported that the majority of officers and members of the UCCL are known to him as being members of the CP, State of Utah.

A source, who is affiliated with the UCCL, in July, 1963, reported that the UCCL continues to support programs of the CP and other organizations which have been designated as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, and some members of the UCCL are known members of the CP of Utah.

A second source advised in May, 1967, that UCCL continues to promote programs of the CP.

APPENDIX

-6*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-9845

Salt Lake City, Utah
January 30, 1968

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of Special Agent W. Rulon
Paxman, dated January 30, 1968,
at Salt Lake City.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1206943-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 26

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Page 28 ~ Duplicate;
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, DALLAS (100-11053) (P#)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

DATE: 1/31/68

OO - NEW YORK

Re Dallas letter to Bureau dated 11/1/67, and Manual of Instructions, III, 87C.

The Dallas Office has no positive information to report for the past quarter. There is no information indicating any recent communist influence in racial matters within the Dallas Division. An investigative report covering the past quarter, therefore, is not being submitted.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
2 - Dallas
EDK:jeg
(6)

REC 10

EX-105

100-442529-2472

1 FEB 2 1968

FEB 7 5 52 PM '68

RACIAL DIVISION

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

61 FEB 13 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN ANTONIO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/29/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/1 - 12/31/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS <i>CIRM</i>		REPORT MADE BY B. E. DEFFENBAUGH, JR.	TYPED BY JMB
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA JOHN M. KEMMY, 10/30/67, at San Antonio.

- P* -

LEADS:

SAN ANTONIO:

*0-17 to SA 2/14/68
Unable to locate T-5 in
body of rpt. during
check of sources of info.
Under "IS" miscellaneous
7-8 3
AB/c*

*C. D. Bingham
RC Bingham*

AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS: Will follow and report evidence of communist influence in racial matters in the San Antonio Division.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Only those persons that could be documented mentioned in this report were documented. All persons named

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

JM
SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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- 1 - New York (AM, RM)
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- 1 - OSI, 10th District (RM)
- 1 - NISO, 8th District (RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (100-9845)

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33 DEC 30 1970

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: SAC, OSI, SEC. SER.
Request Recd.	ISD, CRD, RAO, [redacted]
Date Fwd.	DATE FWD: 1/29/68
How Fwd.	HOW FWD: [redacted]
By	BY: [redacted]

Notations

100-442529-2173

5 FEB 2 1968

REC 55

ST-108

D. Bingham

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 FEB 21 1968

100-442529-2173

SA 100-9845

in this report as members of the Communist Party and who reside within the area covered by the San Antonio Office are listed in the Security Index or are informants or sources. It is to be noted that LEE OTIS JOHNSON mentioned in this report is from the Houston Division and his status is not known by San Antonio.

INFORMANTS:

IDENTITY OF SOURCE

FILE WHERE LOCATED

SA T-1:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b3
b7D
b7E

Documentation of
CHARLES MCKINLEY SMITH,
JOHN STANFORD, PAUL
PIPKIN, JAMES SAGER

SA T-2:

[Redacted]

SA T-3:

[Redacted]

SA T-4:

[Redacted]

SA T-5:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

CLASSIFICATION:

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because it contains information from SA T-1 thru SA T-5, confidential informants of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in identification and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

- B* -

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - 112th MI GP, San Antonio (RM)
1 - OSI, 10th District (RM)
1 - NISO, 8th District (RM)

Report of: B. E. DEFFENBAUGH, JR.
Date: 1/29/68

Office: SAN ANTONIO

Field Office File #: 100-9845

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

CP Club meeting, December 11, 1967, San Antonio, had educational on Negro question. ✓ JOHN STANFORD, Chairman, CP of Texas, stated that role of white communists is that they should serve as a public relations board in the white community to dispell chauvinistic tendencies of the whites. ✓ STANFORD indicated that you do not get violent uprisings by asking for them. ✓ Stated that the CP does not condemn violence as there is a good reason for it. ✓ STANFORD defined the term "black power" as united action by the Negroes and whites. ✓ At CP Club meeting, December 19, 1967, STANFORD stated he feels that if they could get the white community to work for peace that the white community would also work on the question of Negro rights. ✓ He suggested that comrades read the Negro press and that the CP should have a social and invite members of SNCC to attend. ✓ Stated that they should set up a committee on behalf of the Houston Five. ✓ CHARLES MCKINLEY SMITH, CP member, Austin, Texas, reported to be doing a good job among the Negroes in Austin. ✓

7 P* 7

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SA 100-9845

DETAILS: AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

SA T-1 (12/11/67)

On December 11, 1967, at a Communist Party (CP) Club meeting in San Antonio, Texas, attended by JOHN STANFORD and JAMES SAGER, JAMES SAGER led the educational on the Negro question.

SAGER stated that the CP had a new line in connection with Negro matters and pointed out that some Negroes follow the line espoused by STOKLEY CARMICHAEL which is the Cuban line. SAGER indicated that the CP did not agree with the line on the Negro question as advocated by CARMICHAEL.

SAGER pointed out that in regard to the Negro situation in the labor unions that the Negroes are not properly represented in the labor unions. In connection with the question of black power, he felt that the whites have everything to lose if the Negro accomplishes what he advocates in black power.

STANFORD stated that SAGER was in error in some of his statements. STANFORD stated that the new CP line in connection with the Negro question is that the CP must work side by side with persons like STOKLEY CARMICHAEL since both the CP and the Negroes are working to defeat imperialism.

STANFORD pointed out that the white people should make certain that they learn the problems of the Negro people and again pointed out that the CP must work with so called extremists as CARMICHAEL since both are striving for the same end.

A CP member present stated that there is an analogy between the problems of the Negro and of the Mexican-Americans since both have problems which must be overcome.

SA 100-9845

Another CP member pointed out that with respect to the Negro riots that while they appear to be spontaneous throughout the country they are well organized.

Another CP member disagreed with this stand, pointing out that the looting and riots were not organized, that when the opportunity presented itself they were spontaneous and nothing could have been done to stop the looting.

It was also pointed out that Negroes must be represented in trade unions.

SA T-3 (12/12/67)

This source can substantiate in part information set forth by SA T-1.

In addition, this source advised that STANFORD pointed out that the role of the white communists is not that he knows it all. STANFORD stated that the CP members must serve as a public relations board in the white community and dispell chauvinistic tendencies of the whites.

STANFORD pointed out that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had said that CHE GUEVARA was wrong in his statement that they must have many guerrilla wars going on. According to STANFORD, LIGHTFOOT questioned this concept. STANFORD stated that you did not get violent uprisings by asking for them. STANFORD stated that the CP does not condemn violence as there is a good reason for it.

STANFORD tried to define the term black power and in the process a CP member disagreed with STANFORD's definition. The CP member stated that black power meant different things to different people. He pointed out that the Negro who has been kicked around all of his life and finally strikes back considers this is black power. STANFORD disagreed and stated that the term "black power" means united action by the Negroes and whites. The CP member did not agree with this, stating that black power is used by the Negro as a means to obtain first class citizenship. STANFORD did not agree with this definition.

SA 100-9845

pointing out that some advocates of black power organize riots and snipers.

SA T-2 (12/12/67)

SA T-4 (12/12/67)

These two sources can substantiate in part information furnished by SA T-1 and SA T-3 above.

JOHN STANFORD

SA T-1 (12/9/66)

JOHN STANFORD is chairman of the CP of Texas and member of the National Committee, CPUSA.

SA T-5 (6/19/66)

JOHN STANFORD is chairman of the National Commission for Work in the South, CPUSA.

JAMES SAGER

SA T-1 (9/7/66)

On September 6, 1966, at a CP Club meeting in San Antonio, Texas, JAMES SAGER was elected Educational Director for this group.

SA T-3 (12/20/67) A characterization of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT contained in the appendix hereto.

At a CP Club meeting held in San Antonio on December 19, 1967, a CP Club member who was to lead the educational dealing with how the white community should work within the white community for white-Negro unity, stated that he was not prepared to lead the educational. A document from the National Office, CPUSA, dealing with this question was read by one of the CP members present.

Another CP member commented after the document was read that in working among the Mexican-Americans, every effort is made to point out to the Mexican-Americans the

problems of the Negroes and what the Mexican-Americans and the Negroes have in common.

JOHN STANFORD, who was in attendance at this meeting, pointed out that he feels that if they could get the white community to work for peace that the white community would also work on the question of Negro rights. It was suggested that the CP should incorporate the fight for Negro rights within the work of the peace groups such as the SACSIV.

A CP member present pointed out that in the past that all they have done was to sit around and discuss theory with respect to this question but have not actually done anything concrete about it.

STANFORD suggested the following:

He stated that one of the things that all of the comrades could do would be to start reading the Negro press to ascertain what actually was going on in the Negro community. STANFORD stated that he himself buys copies of a local Negro paper off of the news stand but he does not read it regularly. STANFORD stated that he intends to subscribe to this newspaper so that he can read it regularly.

STANFORD also stated that he felt that they should get some of "our friends" to read the "Southern Patriot" and mail it out to some of their friends.

STANFORD also suggested that in keeping with the CP line in connection with the Negro question that they hold a social in the early part of January and invite persons from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from Houston to attend. He felt that this would help to cement relations between the Negro and white communities.

In addition, he felt that they should set up some type of committee to discuss and work on behalf of the Houston Five. It was explained that these were the five persons in Houston, Texas, who were arrested at Texas Southern University.

SA 100-9845

SA T-1 (12/19/67)

This source can substantiate in part information set forth above furnished by SA T-1.

In addition, this source advised that in discussing the social to be held for the Houston Five, STANFORD also suggested that they also contact persons in the Negro community in San Antonio and invite them to this party.

SA T-2 (12/20/67)

SA T-4 (12/20/67)

These two sources can substantiate in part information furnished by SA T-1 and SA T-3.

The Southern Patriot is self-described as being published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

Characterizations of SCEF and the SACSWIV are contained in the Appendix hereto.

SA T-1 (12/20/67)

On December 20, 1967, PAUL PIPKIN, a CP member from Austin, Texas, indicated that CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH was doing a good job among the Negroes in Austin and is making some headway.

PAUL PIPKIN

SA T-1 (5/1/66)

On May 1, 1966, PAUL PIPKIN from Austin, Texas, was formally accepted as a CPUSA member by JOHN STANFORD.

CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH

SA T-1 (5/1/66)

On May 1, 1966, CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH was

formally accepted as a CPUSA member by JOHN STANFORD.

SA T-2 (12/21/67)

On December 21, 1967, PAUL PIPKIN indicated that CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH is doing real well among the Negroes in Austin, and he is hoping to recruit some of the Negroes into the CP.

SA T-4 (12/21/67)

This source can substantiate information set forth above by SA T-2.

II. Communist Tactics

No information developed.

III. Communist Penetration and Influence in Racial and Other Organizations

No information developed.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

SA T-1 (12/7/67)

On December 7, 1967, JOHN STANFORD related that he had a visit on December 6, 1967, from CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH from Austin, Texas.

STANFORD stated that SMITH has many problems in Austin. He related that some of the members of the SNCC from Houston, Texas, including LEE OTIS JOHNSON, have been making trips from Houston to Austin. These individuals, while in Austin, have been staying at the residence of SMITH's parents. SMITH's brother objected to these visitors and wired the parents of the SMITH boys (who were not in the city at the time), complaining about the visitors. According to CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH, his mother directed that the SNCC people move out of the SMITH house. This infuriated CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH, who thereafter beat up his brother. As a result, the police were called, and, according to

SA 100-9845

CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH, the police authorities are trying to have SMITH committed to a mental institution. STANFORD stated that CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH wants to fight back. STANFORD counselled CHARLES McKINLEY SMITH "not to make any waves" but to contact a minister in Austin for guidance.

1.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Souther Patriot", a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 2, 1964, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the CP on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

APPENDIX

SAN ANTONIO COMMITTEE TO STOP
THE WAR IN VIETNAM (SACSWIV)
Post Office Box 2742,
San Antonio, Texas

Two sources have advised that on January 26, 1967, an organizational meeting of a new group to be known as the San Antonio Committee to End the War in Vietnam was held in the Texas Room of the Gunter Hotel, San Antonio, Texas.

Plans for forming this group were initiated and coordinated by John Stanford of San Antonio, Texas. Stanford provided the majority of the names and addresses of persons who were sent letters inviting them to attend this meeting. Stanford helped to compose the preamble and draw up the constitution of the committee. Stanford used the constitution of the Communist Party, U.S.A (CPUSA) as a guide for the constitution of this committee.

On February 23, 1967, the name of the organization was changed to San Antonio Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam (SACSWIV).

A third source advised that the constitution was presented in rough draft form at the first meeting on January 26, 1967, amended at that meeting and at the next meeting, and finally adopted at the February 23, 1967, meeting of the organization.

The preamble of the constitution reads as follows:

"Believing that peace is of vital importance to everyone, we have formed a group that will offer an opportunity to study and promote the achievement of a world without war. Peace is above political, economic, racial, or religious distinctions. We welcome into our organization the individual concerned with life instead of death, with health instead of injury, with building instead of destroying, with

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

"development instead of degradation, with humane instead of barbaric acts. The war in Vietnam makes imperative the immediate organization of a peace group in San Antonio. Peace must win, or we will sacrifice ourselves, our children and grandchildren to a senseless military machine never before equalled. The insane waste of war and preparations for nuclear war will create the eventual destruction of all humanity if not stopped. PEACE MUST WIN!"

A fourth source advised that on May 29, 1966, at the Texas CP Convention held at San Antonio, Texas, John Stanford was elected chairman of the CP of Texas. On June 26, 1966, during the 18th National CP Convention, Stanford was elected a member of the National Committee, CPUSA.

The first two sources have advised that while John Stanford was instrumental in initiating and helped to organize the San Antonio Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam, since the organization has gained momentum Stanford does not control or dominate the activities of this group. There are some members of SACSIV who object to Stanford's presence at their meetings and functions.

APPENDIX

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SA 100-9845

formally accepted as a CPUSA member by JOHN STANFORD.

SA T-2 (12/21/67)

On December 21, 1967, PAUL PIPKIN indicated that CHARLES MCKINLEY SMITH is doing real well among the Negroes in Austin, and he is hoping to recruit some of the Negroes into the CP.

SA T-4 (12/21/67)

This source can substantiate information set forth above by SA T-2.

II. Communist Tactics

No information developed.

III. Communist Penetration and Influence in Racial and Other Organizations

No information developed.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

On December 7, 1967, JOHN STANFORD related that he had a visit on December 6, 1967, from CHARLES MCKINLEY SMITH from Austin, Texas.

STANFORD stated that SMITH has many problems in Austin. He related that some of the members of the SNCC from Houston, Texas, including LEE OTIS JOHNSON, have been making trips from Houston to Austin. These individuals, while in Austin, have been staying at the residence of SMITH's parents. SMITH's brother objected to these visitors and wired the parents of the SMITH boys (who were not in the city at the time), complaining about the visitors. According to CHARLES MCKINLEY SMITH, his mother directed that the SNCC people move out of the SMITH house. This infuriated CHARLES MCKINLEY SMITH, who thereafter beat up his brother. As a result, the police were called, and, according to



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Antonio, Texas
January 29, 1968

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA B. E. DEFFENBAUGH, JR., dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Date 2/13/68

To: ☒ Director
FILE Bufile 100-442529
SA 100-9845

Att.: _____ Title _____
☐ SAC _____
☐ ASAC _____ COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
☐ Supv. _____ RACIAL MATTERS
☐ Agent _____ IS-C
☐ SE _____
☐ IC _____ RE: _____
☐ CC _____
☐ Steno _____
☐ Clerk _____ ☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Open Case |
| ☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____ | ☐ Prepare lead cards |
| ☐ Bring file | ☐ Prepare tickler |
| ☐ Call me | ☐ Return assignment card |
| ☐ Correct | ☐ Return file |
| ☐ Deadline _____ | ☐ Search and return |
| ☐ Deadline passed | ☐ See me |
| ☐ Delinquent | ☐ Serial # _____ |
| ☐ Discontinue | ☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return |
| ☐ Expedite | ☐ Send to _____ |
| ☐ File | ☐ Submit new charge out |
| ☐ For information | ☐ Submit report by _____ |
| ☐ Handle | ☐ Type |
| ☐ Initial & return | |
| ☐ Leads need attention | |
| ☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken. | |

RACIAL INT. SECT.

CONFIDENTIAL

*Filed in Ser 12473
2-16-68 NK/cons.*
Rerep SA B. E. DEFFENBAUGH, JR., 1/29/68,
at San Antonio.

Re Bureau 0-171 dated 2/12/68, indicating
unable to locate SA T-5 in body of report.

ENCLOSURE IN LET DIA
1-Bureau (Encs. 1) RM SAC J. MYERS COLE
1-New York (Enc. 1) RM SAN ANTONIO
1-SA See reverse side Office
BED:eks (3)

0
OK
Bureau is referred to page 4 of rerep, the
middle of the page.

Enclosed for Bureau are 9 copies
and to New York one copy of amended page 7
of rerep.

San Antonio copies, as well as local
military agencies' copies, corrected.

FEB 15 1968

FEB 15 4 10 PM '68

REC'D
DOM INTELL DIV

INCONS FEB 16 1968
2/16

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE PITTSBURGH	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/31/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/26/67 - 1/26/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY LAWRENCE M. COOPER, JR.	TYPED BY alb
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE

Report of SA LAWRENCE M. COOPER, JR., dated 10/31/67, at Pittsburgh.

- P* -

LEADS

PITTSBURGH

AT PITTSBURGH, PA. (ALLEGHENY COUNTY)

Will continue to follow and report activities in this matter.

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9-Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1-MIG, Pittsburgh, Pa. (RM) 1-OSI, Pittsburgh, Pa. (RM) 1-NISO, Philadelphia, Pa. (RM) 2-New York (100-153735) (RM) 2-Pittsburgh (100-15125)		100-442529-2474	REC-74
		1 FEB 2 1968	EX-102

Dissemination Record of Attached Report			Notations
Agency	AGENCY:	ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SER:	D.M. W/ [redacted] RACIAL INT. SECT.
Request Recd.		[redacted] [redacted] RAO [redacted]	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW:	1/13/68	
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:	COVER PAGE	
By	BY:	[redacted]	

FC04
1cc npt 80690P
57 FEB 15 1968

PG 100-15125

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" since information from PG T-1 through PG T-3 could reasonably result in identification of informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

INFORMANTS

Informants

Location

✓ PG T-1 is []
(Characterization of LEO JACKSON,
and ED BORTZ)

✓ PG T-2 is []
(Characterization of BETH
EDELMAN)

✓ PG T-3 is []

✓ PG T-4 is []
(Characterization of CLAUDE
LIGHTFOOT)

b3
b7D
b7E

- B* -

COVER PAGE

134-177

CLAUDE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1-MIG, PITTSBURGH, PA. (RM)
1-OSI, PITTSBURGH, PA. (RM)
1-NISO, PHILADELPHIA, PA. (RM)

Report of: LAWRENCE M. COOPER, JR. Office: PITTSBURGH, PA.
Date: 1/31/68

Field Office File #: 100-15125 Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

CPWP attempting to get members active in Negro ghetto organizations to facilitate CP recruitment and to exert CP influence in the ghetto areas. CPWP continuing efforts to get the Negro - American Labor Council reactivated in Pittsburgh.

- P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

On October 26, 1967, PG T-1 advised that during a meeting of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania (CPWP) Youth Club, held in the Pittsburgh, Pa., area on October 22, 1967, it was disclosed that LEO JACKSON had been requested by BETH EDELMAN to join organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or the United Negro Protest Committee (UNPC), both predominantly Negro organizations active in civil rights activities, in order to facilitate Negro recruitment into the CPWP Youth Club.

On October 20, 1967, PG T-2 advised that BETH EDELMAN is a member of the CPWP Executive Committee.

On December 26, 1967, PG T-1 advised that LEO JACKSON is a member of the CPWP Youth Club.

On November 1, 1967, PG T-3 advised that on October 31, 1967, BETH EDELMAN stated that it is important to get the Communist Party (CP) to exert its influence among Negro people in the ghetto areas. She said that some CPWP members should join organizations in the ghetto areas in order to bring more Negroes into the CP.

PG T-2 advised on November 7, 1967, that a CPWP Executive Committee meeting was held in the Pittsburgh area on November 1, 1967. At this meeting, discussion was held concerning the status of efforts to get the Negro - American Labor Council (NALC) reactivated. It was stated at this meeting that members of the CPWP had contacted the head of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the NALC, LEROY TAYLOR, who had agreed to attempt to start holding meetings of the NALC again. According to the informant, it was further brought out in this meeting that in deciding who would contact TAYLOR, one CPWP member was considered but was left out because he was known to TAYLOR as a CP member.

On November 29, 1967, PG T-2 advised that on November 17, 1967, a meeting of the CPWP District Committee was held in the Pittsburgh area. At this meeting, the speaker

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PG 100-15125

was CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, who said that he, LIGHTFOOT, and the CP National Office, were both in full agreement with the work being done by the CP in Pittsburgh, in attempting to re-activate the NALC.

On June 29, 1966, PG T-4 advised that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was elected a member of the National Committee of the CP-USA at its 18th National Convention, held in New York City on June 22 - 26, 1966.

PG T-1 advised on January 5, 1968, that at a CPWP Youth Club meeting held on January 3, 1968, in the Pittsburgh area, ED BORTZ presented a long discussion on the status of the CPWP Youth Club and the direction it should take. BORTZ said it is important for the CP to find a way of reaching the Negro "left" that is beginning to form in Pittsburgh in the "Negro Liberation Movement."

PG T-1 advised on December 26, 1967, that ED BORTZ is a member of the CPWP Youth Club.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No information developed.

- 3* -

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
January 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-15125

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
 RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA LAWRENCE M. COOPER,
 JR., dated and captioned as above
 Pittsburgh, Pa.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/31/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/15-19/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY	TYPED BY bj a
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY dated 10/18/67,
at San Francisco.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being submitted to Los Angeles and New York for information.

This report is being classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because the information furnished by confidential informants recorded herein could reasonably result in their identification and affect their future usefulness.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

✓ SF T-1 is [REDACTED]

File Where Located

Instant report

b7D

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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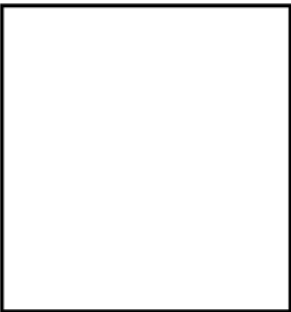
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✓ SF T-2 is [redacted]		b3 b7D b7E
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	Used to document ROSCOE PROCTOR <i>LI</i>	b3 b7D b7E
		
✓ SF T-6 is [redacted]	Used to document CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT <i>LI</i>	b3 b7D b7E
✓ SF T-7 is [redacted]		
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Used to document
HERBERT APTHEKER *LI*

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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Copy to:

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Report of:
Date:

JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY
1/31/68

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #:

100-53902

Bureau File #:

100-442529

Title:

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

A Communist Party (CP) National Conference on Negro Work adopted all of the positive aspects of the black power movement as part of its policy in the field of Negro work. At this conference, Oakland, California was singled out as an area of concentration for the implementation of this program which is intended to put the concepts of black power into practice. In essence, it means that the CP will support the movement for the Negroes to have complete and entire control over every aspect of their communities. ROSCOE PROCTOR is now a paid CP organizer in the East Bay ghetto area and the CP is planning to establish a cultural center in the Fillmore area of San Francisco.

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DETAILS:

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I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. CP, USA

1. Plans, Strategy Made At National Meetings

At a meeting of the San Francisco County CP held January 9, 1968, a four-page mimeographed document was furnished to those present. The document refers to the results of a National CP Conference on Negro Work held in New York City in late 1967. This document is set out in its entirety as follows:

"INITIAL APPROACH TOWARDS THE OAKLAND PROJECT

"At the recent National Conference on Negro Work, all of the positive aspects of the Black Power Movement were adopted as part of our policy in the field of Negro work.

"The main thrust of the Black movement today is that of developing movements within the Black community which will strengthen the control and leadership of the community itself over all institutions in the Black community which affects the lives daily of the people residing in the ghetto.

"This conference discussed and rejected the concept of guerilla warfare in urban areas, while re-emphasizing support for the position of self-defense; reaffirmed its position of fighting for the unfolding of a Black cultural revolution and cultural identity; Black leadership of the movement; independent political action with candidates from the ghetto more responsible to the community itself; voter support for the Black caucus movements and the

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Chicago formula for Black-white unity; rejected tokenism and assimilation as viable forms for integration today; recognized the strong current towards national identity and nationhood on the part of Black militants and support the idea of separate autonomous government on the part of the Negro people, if that is the overwhelming desire when conditions are favorable for the implementation for such rights of self-determination.

"Racism and white chauvinism was singled out as the main obstacle to be overcome in the struggle for Negro rights and Negro-white unity. The main report, delivered by comrade Claude, will be made available in pamphlet form to all party clubs and to the public at-large in the very near future. The following remarks is an effort to implement the content of that report at the local level in our District:

"Based on the discussions in the District staff and committee, and in the Oakland caucus, it has been agreed that the city of Oakland would be singled out as an area of concentration for the implementation of this program. If the Party can successfully project and implement a program which puts the concepts of Black Power into practice, it will make a major contribution to the Black movement nationally, as the main weakness of the Black Power movement up to this point is its emphasis on slogan and rhetoric, rather than programs which logically flow from such concepts.

"Why was Oakland chosen as a concentration? Oakland has the largest, most compact, least

politically represented in government, and most oppressed community in our District. The Alameda County Negro population has grown faster than the state as a whole, and has the largest proportion of Negro people than any county in the state. Alameda County's Negro population quadrupled between 1940 and 1960. From 1960 to 1965 Oakland experienced a net loss of 30,000 whites and a net gain of 30,000 Negroes. Negroes now account for more than 1/3 of Oakland's total population, more than 1/2 of its primary school population, and large numbers of its low skilled minority group persons are without work. Between 1958 and 1966, 35 companies employing more than 100 persons each, moved out of Oakland, taking with them a total of 10,747 jobs; only 12 new companies with more than 100 employees. Firms which are predominantly service companies, requiring different skills, moved into Oakland. One third of the companies which moved out located in southern Alameda County where it was impossible for most Negroes to follow the jobs because of lack of low cost housing and housing discrimination in that area.

"Oakland unemployment rates in poverty target areas officially are above 13% among adults, and about 25% among minority youth.

"1/5 of all people living in Oakland are poor. 2/5 of Oakland's poor are children; 25% are 65 years or over. Large families are disproportionately represented among the poor, as well as families with female heads. The poor of Oakland in large numbers are going without many of the basic necessities of life. Medical care, decent housing, proper diet, utilities, etc.

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"Oakland's anti-poverty program and efforts do not meet the needs of the poor. The poverty target areas in Oakland are predominantly minority group members - 81%; two thirds of which are Negro - 63%. Of Oakland's 7,500 Spanish speaking families, 1400 are poor. Oakland needs at least 10,000 units of public housing. Over 15,000 families of Oakland pay more than 35% of their total income for rent.

"The high rate of unemployment applies about equally to whites and blacks in the target areas, although the poor of the non-target areas are predominantly white.

"Therefore, we feel the need to project a two-pronged program for Oakland. One for the Black community, which Black people can see themselves carrying out with their own resources, within their own community and, two, a coalition program. One which can unite the ghetto and the white working class and the rest of the community. The project in the Black community should also embrace the Mexican American community.

"The concentration plan for Oakland calls for concentration upon the working class poor as a core group to move the organized sector of the working class, as well as the rest of the progressive liberal, peace forces. Because of the high level of Black consciousness and low level of organization and movement in the white community, we believe at this point, that separate organizing centers are needed. But that methods should be worked out for joint coordination of the work that is being carried out in both the Black and the white community.

"In order to develop program for each of the communities within the framework of a political program for the city as a whole, an elaborate research committee capable of acquiring a complete knowledge of the social problems and the political and social power structure will be needed.

"Answers to the following 5 categories of questions will be needed almost immediately:

"I. Structure of urban government.

"A. Council, mayor and city manager structure.

"B. Composition and powers of boards, commissions, authorities, etc.

"C. Employees of the city and county, patronage and civil service practices and policies.

"II. Relation of City to county in powers and practices.

"A. City role in state and federal programs.

"B. City business practice, city contracts.

"C. City charter structure of county government as it affects city services.

"1. Hospitals and public health.

"2. Police, sheriff, jails, juvenile halls.

"3. Street cleaning and maintenance, garbage collection.

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- "4. Parks, recreation facilities,
and libraries.
- "5. Services for the elderly.

"III. Population structure

- "A. Density, ethnic and racial
distribution.
- "B. Income distribution.
- "C. Voting patterns.
- "D. Home ownership, distribution
of property ownership, including
absentee ownership of both comm-
ercial and residential properties.
- "E. Social clubs, churches, and other
people's organizations.

"IV. Economic control.

- "A. Major industries, leading corp-
orations, banks, insurance com-
panies, real estate firms,
utilities.
- "B. Labor movement.
- "C. Role of Emeryville and Piedmont
tax structure.
- "D. Tax subsidies, who benefits, who
suffers through urban renewal,
BART, other such major changes.

"V. Miscellaneous

- "A. Who is on the draft board, grand
juries, and who picks them.
- "B. Court structure, especially juvenile
courts.

"C. Relation of the schools, especially treatment of kids to courts, to county, to cops, to public health, etc.

"While we do not intend here to blue print a program in detail, we do feel the need to project certain ideas.

"GUIDELINES FOR THE OAKLAND PROJECT

"One, it must be based on program which speaks directly to those problems which threaten both the black and white communities and the solution must be far-reaching enough that they offer some qualitative improvement and not merely palliative measures.

"That we formulate demands not on the basis of what it is felt that the power structure is willing to grant, but on the basis of what the needs of the community are.

- "1. Work to establish the principle (with provisions for enforcement) that the government is responsible to provide work at union wages for all who cannot find work in private industry.
- "2. Reject the concept that unless human beings are tailored to technological needs that they must be dumped on the scrap heap. While supporting programs for vocational training with adequate compensation during the period of training, that we also insist that work opportunities be tailored to meet human needs. That is, that

jobs be provided to employ the skills and capacities (limited as they may be) of all those seeking work. (Ghetto needs for homes, schools, hospitals and other public facilities are so enormous that any appreciable effort to meet them can create the conditions for fulfilling such demands.)

- "3. Begin to boldly project the notion that this system is not sacred, that it must begin to meet the needs of the people or the people have every right to modify or change the system.

"Since one of the principal thrusts of the Black Freedom Movement is for community control over the institutions that most immediately affect the daily lives of Black people, the program must be one which unites and advances the needs of both black and white, but puts forth in a form which permits separate special demands for the black community.

"Finally, the program must be realistic in the sense that it inspires people to action, as distinct from "pie in the sky" proposals which sound good, but do not inspire any feelings that it is worth while fighting for.

"Such a program must move both in the direction of challenging the local power structure for political control, and in the direction of gaining economic and political power for the people which run counter to the system.

"What type of community organizing
do we envision?"

"Grass roots, person to person, door to door organizing around issues affecting total community; structured around block organizations, precinct, mass organization (city, councilmatic, AD, CD basis).

"Need to train and orient organizers"

"Recruitment and selection of forces to be part of organizing effort, both in black and white and Mexican American community - selected from our own forces, new politics forces, peace and freedom forces, Black power activists, trade unionists, and people already involved in the community.

"Three areas for training community organizers
in the school."

- "1. General political orientation dealing with Marxist understanding of why people are poor, capitalism, imperialism, and wars of aggression; national and white chauvinism, black history of world movements, state and revolution, relationship of reforms and revolutions, etc.
- "2. Political orientation relating to city of Oakland, based on public research sources by committee (related to general political orientation). Clarify problems of poor, ghetto housing, jobs, health, police oppression, welfare, day care centers, unemployment, etc.

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"3. Community organizing

"While working with and strengthening existing community organizations, and perhaps building new ones which will be single issue oriented, the outlook of the trained organizer should encompass an overview of the total problems and goals.

"PRELIMINARY STEPS TO TRAINING AND
PROJECT DEVELOPMENT"

- "1. Political outlines for organizers and training schools.
- "2. Facilities for project in Oakland; classrooms, books, maps, charts, graphs, etc.
- "3. Need to find and develop teachers.
- "4. Build toward summer camp for training of youth.
- "5. Need to develop approach towards moving organized labor (caucusses in some unions) organization of unemployed and under-employed of working class poor. Domestic workers, hospital workers, build unions among the working poor as well as among welfare and public assistance poor.

"While research and training schools are being completed, we must also give attention to building a defense committee.

- "2. Support for Black peace and freedom
- type candidates in the 7th CD.
- "3. Support for charter change in Oakland.

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"4. Our role in finals elections for 1968.

"5. Reparations suit for Black people.

"PRIORITIES.

"1. Research

"2. Facilities for org. school

"3. Recruiting of organizers; black,
white, Mexican-American

"4. Political outlines for organizers
training school."

SF T-1, 1/16/68

"2. Plans Made at District and Lower Level Meetings

At a meeting of the East Bay Industrial Club of the CP held September 20, 1967, copies of the resolutions passed at the recent Alameda County CP Convention were distributed. Some of the resolutions are set out briefly as follows:

"1. Since Black organizations have been in the forefront of opposition to the Vietnam war, the Party must assume the responsibility of developing the growing alliance between the peace and black liberation movements on the basis of relating the domestic demands of the freedom forces to the foreign policy of the administration.

"2. We support the actions on the part of the Black community to reclaim its heritage, further develop its own cultural cohesion, and claim political control of its community.

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- "3. We are committed to struggle for Negro-white unity on the basis of a program of mutual self-interest.
- "4. We call for full support for the decision for building a black book store and cultural center in the East Bay ghetto area."

SF T-2, 10/4/67.

The same copies of these resolutions were passed out at a meeting of the CP Chairmen held September 17, 1967 at 2224 Roosevelt Street, Berkeley, California.

SF T-3, 9/26/67.

A meeting of the CP Black Caucus was held at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR, [REDACTED] Berkeley, California on September 24, 1967. The first item discussed was the setting up of a black congress which would include all black organizations. It was agreed that since all black organizations would not willingly work together, it was felt that they could agree on one issue on which all could work together as a starting point.

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Another item discussed was the establishment of a Black Party caucus within the black ghettos. They felt that ROSCOE PROCTOR would be most effective in this work.

PROCTOR stated that over 300 Negroes left the Party in the last 15 years and that most of them are still around. He said they will be contacted to recruit them back into the Party.

SF T-4, 9/27/67.

ROSCOE PROCTOR was elected Chairman of the Northern California District CP (NCD CP) Negro Commission at a

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meeting of the District
Committee held May 13, 1967.

SF T-5, 5/16/67.

On October 1, 1967, there was a meeting of the NCD CP with the Expanded Negro Commission of the CP at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco, California. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the work of the CP with the Negroes in the ghettos as now is the time for the CP to make inroads among the Negroes. One of the CP members present mentioned that he is holding classes among black youth.

The CP is considering what it can do toward the black nationalist groups and wondering how it can approach this situation to plant a Marxist seed. Also considered was how the CP can get black labor to work in the ghettos to further the CP cause.

It was pointed out that the NCD CP was planning to submit suggestions to the National Committee of the CP for a national organization that will be developed for the Party in its work among the Negroes.

SF T-4, 10/2/67

Additional information regarding this same meeting reflects that ROSCOE PROCTOR read a letter from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT asking the Party here to discuss and put on paper their thoughts regarding the following:

1. The new method of struggle by the Negroes.
2. How should the CP organize or join in the uprisings in the ghetto?
3. The changes taking place in the ghettos.
4. Is there or is there not a revolution going on?

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PROCTOR stated that the National Committee in New York would like our ideas on these problems and he thought that our conclusions should be personally delivered to the National Committee.

SF T-5, 10/2/67.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT^{SF} is Secretary of the National Committee for Negro Affairs of the CP, USA.

SF T-6, 7/18/67.

A CP Negro Subcommittee meeting was held October 4, 1967 at 2602 Page Street, San Francisco, to discuss the following questions:

1. What is the CP attitude toward the uprisings in the ghetto areas?
2. What is the CP attitude toward organizing the uprisings in the ghettos?
3. How should the CP deal with the present uprisings in the ghettos?
4. What are the different forms of struggle in the black movement?

At this meeting, ROSCOE PROCTOR^{SF} said he is going to New York City on October 9, 1967 where he will attend a national CP meeting regarding the Negro problem in the United States.

SF T-4, 10/9/67.

At a meeting of the NCD CP held November 11, 1967 at 942 Market Street, San Francisco, California, ROSCOE PROCTOR gave a report on a recent National Negro Conference that he attended in New York City. He stated that the CP

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is now on record as being in full support of all the positive features of Black Nationalism, including the idea of a Black Republic. He stated that the CP now accepts as legitimate the term "Black People" as it relates to the Afro-Americans and that we support the rights of the Negro people to overthrow this system by force at the proper time, but that we could not agree that guerrilla warfare in the cities is tactically correct at this time. He stated that burning and looting is not a part of our policy but we could not be critical of the Negro people for conducting their fight in any way they see fit.

He stated that we must have an internal look at ourselves and our Party to see why we are not recruiting the young black militants into the Party.

PROCTOR made a proposal which was accepted that Oakland be singled out as the city for us to concentrate on to try and implement the concept of black power and put it into practice.

We must formulate demands according to the needs of the community and not just demand what we think the establishment will give. We must fight for black community control over its police, schools, etc. We must advocate the takeover of slum lords' property and set up tenant owned co-ops. We must advocate Government grants to the Negro people to recompense for 300 years of slavery. We must build support for a black candidate in the 7th Congressional District, build a Defense Committee for jailed civil rights leaders and for Negroes who refused to be drafted into the military. We must have an immediate organization and we must build a long-range program in order to be effective in this work.

SF T-7, 11/28/67,

SF T-8, 11/20/67,

SF T-5, 11/17/67.

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~~SF~~
ROSCOE PROCTOR has been hired as the new Negro Organizer in the East Bay ghetto area and will be paid \$100 monthly for this work by the CP.

SF T-9, 10/6/67.

The Sunset Club of the CP met on October 3, 1967 at 241 Frederick Street, San Francisco, California. At this meeting each Party member was urged to give a day's pay to sustain the Negro organizer in the ghetto. This organizer is ROSCOE PROCTOR, who was said to have recruited two Negroes in the CP so far.

SF T-10, 10/11/67.

At a meeting of the East Bay CP Industrial Club held at 2716-77th Avenue, Oakland, California on October 4, 1967, it was announced that everyone present is supposed to give a day's pay toward paying the expense of a CP organizer and cultural center in the East Bay ghetto area.

SF T-2, 10/17/67.

On October 19, 1967, the second meeting of the East Bay Ghetto Club, CP of Alameda County, was held at 1627 Woolsey Street, Berkeley, California. ROSCOE PROCTOR was assigned to direct this club and he arranged to get a Negro member of the Fillmore Club transferred to this club to help out this program. At this meeting they decided to have a social on November 3, 1967 in an attempt to interest outsiders in their club. They were to solicit the immediate neighborhood on Saturday, October 21, 1967 and each solicitor would have 35 copies of the "People's World" (PW) and subscription cards. It was decided that the club must reach the people by sticking to the CP program without waving the Red flag in their faces.

SF T-8, 10/30/67.

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The PW is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

On November 14, 1967, there was a meeting of the Club Chairmen and the County Committee of the San Francisco CP. At this meeting it was stated that the cultural center set up in the East Bay along with the Negro organizer has helped the Party tremendously, both financially and in recruiting.

SF T-9, 11/15/67.

On October 2, 1967, a CP meeting was held at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco, California, for the purpose of discussing Negro problems. One of the problems discussed was that of how the CP can get help to put a CP Negro organizer in the Fillmore community. ROSCOE PROCTOR stated that every effort must be made to raise the money for the project as it is considered most important by the CP.

SF T-5, 10/18/67.

On instructions from ROSCOE PROCTOR, STtwo CP members met on October 3, 1967, to discuss ways and means of raising funds to support a Negro organizer and a cultural center in the Fillmore area. They felt that their activity should be disguised as a community project such as anti-war activity with local leaders in charge and one which would not appear to be presented as a CP dominated or controlled project. The local leader would use his influence on the people to raise the required money.

SF T-5, 10/18/67.

At a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee held November 14, 1967 at 700 Kansas Street, San Francisco, California, it was stated that the San Francisco

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members are expected to raise \$6,000 this year to be spent principally on a Negro organizer, book store, and cultural center in the Fillmore area.

SF T-5, 11/17/67.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS

At a meeting of the San Mateo CP Club held September 22, 1967 at 72 Lausanne Avenue, Daly City, California, one of the members was selling "bricks" for \$1.00 each for the purpose of raising money for the building of the Alliance for Black Unity (ABU) Cultural Center and book store in Berkeley, California.

SF T-11, 9/27/67.

The "Sun Reporter", a San Francisco weekly Negro newspaper with broad circulation, carried an article entitled, "What is ABU?"

"ABU--Alliance for Black Unity--is a black peoples' membership organization. Its aim is to help protect and advance the interest of the black communities by opposing the racist war in Vietnam and all other wars of aggression, by eliminating economic exploitation and political injustice.

"ABU stands for Black power, self defense, knowledge of black history, black unity, independent political action, and the right of black people to determine their own destiny through the leadership and control of their own communities."

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At a meeting of the CP Black Caucus held at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR on September 24, 1967, a young Negro present stated that he is trying to set up ABU groups around the Bay Area and is interested in contacting Negroes on the high school level for this purpose. He indicated that he is going to help ROSCOE PROCTOR seek out people for this group.

SF T-4, 9/27/67.

At a meeting of the ABU which was held on October 9, 1967 at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR, preparations were made for the coming of HERBERT APTHEKER who was giving a series of lectures sponsored by this group. PROCTOR has been the organizer of the ABU since its inception and though his current position in the organization has not been defined, the current officers look to him for advice when experiencing any difficulties in connection with their responsibilities or matters of policy.

SF T-12, 10/17/67.

HERBERT APTHEKER is the Director of the American Institute of Marxist Studies and is a current member of the CP, USA.

SF T-13, 3/29/67.

On October 11, 1967, a leaflet was furnished which reported that the ABU "presents Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER, prominent theoretician and Negro history authority" as the instructor in various aspects of Marxism from October 12 to October 15, 1967, at the Washington School, 2300 Grove, Berkeley, California.

SF T-9, 10/11/67.

A meeting of the Fillmore CP Club was held October 12, 1967 at 608-2nd Avenue, San Francisco, California. At

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this meeting one of the members discussed the peace movement. She stated that she has been a leading factor in the Peace Center at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California.

SF T-14; 10/27/67.

-21*-

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SF 100-53902

San Francisco, California
January 31, 1968

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY dated and captioned as above at San Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE 1-31-68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/5-25/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS, CHICAGO DIVISION <i>(C. H. R. M.)</i>		REPORT MADE BY LELAND G. RICHIE	TYPED BY gas
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C <i>D. H. Wells</i>	

REFERENCE: Report of SA LELAND G. RICHIE dated 10/31/67 at Chicago, Illinois.

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will continue to follow and report communist influence in racial matters within the Chicago Division.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Individuals and organizations mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations were not included were checked through the indices of the Chicago Division and

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 100-442529-2476 1 FEB 2 1968 REC 13 107
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Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations <i>[Signature]</i> RACIAL INT. SECT. <i>1-11-68</i>
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, CSI , SEC. SER.	
Request Recd.	1-11-68 <i>2-13-68</i>	
Date Fwd.	DATE FWD: <i>2-13-68</i>	
How Fwd.	HOW FWD: <i>ABF/C</i>	
By	BY: <i>[Signature]</i>	

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this check was negative as to these individuals and organizations or insufficient identifying information was available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains data received from CG T-1 through CG T-11, the unauthorized disclosure of which could lead to the identification of these informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS

Source

CG T-1

[REDACTED]

Location

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A) [REDACTED] be serialized

Characterization of ISHMAEL FLORY

Characterization of JACK KLING

Characterization of GUS HALL

A) [REDACTED]

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CG T-2

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CG T-3

[REDACTED]

A) [REDACTED]

CG 100-41324

Source

CG T-4

CG T-5

CG T-6

CG T-7

CG T-8

CG T-9

CG T-10

CG T-11

Location

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)

Report of: SA LELAND G. RICHIE Office: Chicago

Date: January 31, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-41324 Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Communist Party (CP) of Illinois continues program to influence direction of Negro civil rights movement in Chicago area. CP of Illinois members affiliated with the following organizations: Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Negro American Labor Council (NALC). CP of Illinois exerts little or no policy influence in the Chicago Freedom Movement. CP leaders state CP should fight discrimination in labor unions, organize the unorganized, organize persons in the ghetto, combat racist ideology among workers and in their organizations, elect Negro candidates from the ghetto and work against discrimination in housing. ISHMAEL FLORY, member of State Committee, CP of Illinois, stated "Black Power" people are going to burn and destroy everything the white man and the so-called better class Negro have. JACK KLING, State Secretary, CP of Illinois, stated that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, National Negro Commission, CP, USA, stated that the CP must ally itself with the militant movement which is signified by H. RAP BROWN, must ally itself with an attempt to move forward the moderate sector of the Negro population which is headed by MARTIN LUTHER KING and must isolate the conservative elements of the Negro population. KLING also stated that leaders of the CP, not identified, had met with H. RAP BROWN and reportedly stated that as far as he was concerned the capitalist system in the U.S. offers absolutely nothing for the Negro. GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, has placed emphasis on the

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~~Group 1~~

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struggle against racism in the white communities and stated the greatest task of the CP is to win large masses of northern whites to fight in the struggle for Negro freedom. LIGHTFOOT stated that the CP must associate themselves with the fight for political and economic power of the Negro people in the ghetto and CP must be in a position to work with moderates, as well as with militants in the ghetto. CP of Illinois members have attended meetings of "Black Caucus" group formed at National Conference for New Politics Convention held at Chicago during August and September, 1967, and meetings of Chicago Chapter of the NALC.

-P*-

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DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The following organization mentioned in this report has not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 and is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report:

African-American Heritage Association

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party (CP), USA

1. Plans, Strategy, Party-line, and the Like
Made at CP of Illinois Meetings, Including
Expressions by CP of Illinois Leaders and
Rank and File Members

a. General

The CP of Illinois' influence in the Chicago Freedom Movement can be summed up as follows:

The CP of Illinois claims that they have a program and policy relative to the Chicago Freedom Movement, however, in reality the CP of Illinois continues to exert little or no policy influence in the Chicago Freedom Movement. The civil rights organizations active in the Chicago area in which the CP of Illinois attempts to exert some influence are as follows:

- ✓ Chicago Urban League (CUL)
- ✓ Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
- ✓ Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO)
- ✓ National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- ✓ Negro American Labor Council (NALC)
- ✓ Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- ✓ Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
- ✓ West Side Organization (WSO)

Relative to the CUL and CORE, the CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within these organizations.

Relative to the CCCO, HERBERT WRIGHT, a member of the State Committee, CP of Illinois, is an alternate delegate from the NALC to the CCCO but at the present time WRIGHT exerts very little if any influence in the CCCO. There has been very little CCCO activity at Chicago during the past several months.

The CP of Illinois still has LESTER DAVIS, CP of Illinois, member, assigned to the Chicago Branch of the NAACP. EARL DURHAM, Chairman, Negro Commission, CP of Illinois, and HERBERT WRIGHT are also members of the NAACP but at the present time those individuals are doing little or nothing to implement CP policy relative to the NAACP.

Concerning the NALC, the CP of Illinois currently has the following individuals who form a collective from the CP of Illinois within the NALC:

HERBERT WRIGHT

NATE SHARPE, member of State Committee, CP of Illinois

RALPH TURNER, member of CP of Illinois

CORNELIUS COBBS, member of CP of Illinois

IRENE WRIGHT, member of CP of Illinois

The main objective of this collective is to involve the NALC in a program of organizing the unorganized Negro workers in the Chicago area with particular emphasis on organizing the Negro hospital workers. The NALC's program at the present time can be considered to be quite ineffective inasmuch as the Chicago Chapter of the NALC has been quite inactive recently.

Relative to the SCLC, the WSO and SNCC, at the current time there are no CP of Illinois members active in these organizations and the CP of Illinois exercises no influence in these organizations.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)

(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

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b. Meetings of the State Committee,
CP of Illinois

A meeting of the State Committee was held on October 29, 1967, at Chicago.

JACK KLING, State Secretary, CP of Illinois, discussed the National Conference For New Politics (NCNP) and stated that the recent convention held by that group in Chicago established unity of Negro and white independent political action at the grass root level. He stated that there is a building up of a strong movement again for the setting up of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party representatives in the State of Mississippi House of Representatives.

KLING discussed the recent elections in Gary, Indiana, and Boston, Massachusetts, in which the Negro mayor was elected in Gary and a representative of the white chauvinist group was defeated in Boston. KLING stated that the CP must go through each state and examine the possibilities of putting up CP candidates. The CP is against white caucuses and wherever racial groupings are found everything possible should be done to dissolve them. He expressed the belief that there is not much hope for Illinois so far as CP candidates are concerned.

(CG T-3, 11/20/67)

On December 10, 1967, an enlarged Illinois Communist Party State Committee meeting was held in Chicago, Illinois.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the National CP Negro Affairs Commission, gave the main report.

In his speech, LIGHTFOOT first told of what should be done to win equality for "black" people in this country. He said that we have seen that mere integration will not solve the problems of the Negroes in America and, therefore, the CP must be the pace setters and not be afraid to confront the realities the CP faces in America.

LIGHTFOOT then spoke of how the Cuban communists solved the problems of integrated housing in Cuba. He said that the Cubans did not have to pass a lot of laws to establish equality to gain housing, jobs, etc., for their people, but rather CASTRO stated during the early part of a certain month that he will give them until the 25th of the month to integrate. LIGHTFOOT said that those who did not comply were then taken before the "wall" (firing squad), and that ended their problems. LIGHTFOOT said that when a certain class of white people rushed out of Cuba to the United States, the government then was able to take over rows and rows of apartment buildings which had been vacated and collected the poor people from all the nation and they were able to be given first class housing.

LIGHTFOOT also spoke of discriminatory practices within the labor movement within the United States as well as of practices which he described as being employed by the United States capitalistic system to keep the Negro "down" on the economic ladder. LIGHTFOOT said that the CP must find ways to combat these practices.

Discussion of LIGHTFOOT's speech then ensued..

JIM WEST, Midwest CP Trade Union Co-Ordinator, stated that the building trades in Chicago have always been a bastle of discrimination and the CP will have to find more jobs for Negroes in the building trades.

HERB WRIGHT spoke of the failures of the drive to organize the hospital workers in Chicago and blamed the Chicago Federation of Labor for not supporting the drive to organize the unorganized. WRIGHT also spoke of the necessity to build black caucuses in the labor unions and to mobilize the working class to fight for complete freedom.

NATE SHARPE spoke of the fight which took place in the Steelworkers Union to prevent the workers from giving up their right to strike in the coming negotiations in the steel industry.

ISH FLORY spoke of the need for the CP to organize in the ghetto; the number of unemployed youth who need assistance; and the fight to teach Negro history in the schools on the south side of Chicago. FLORY stated that there are a number of areas where recruits for the Party can be won.

After the luncheon recess the group dispersed and participated in the following panels:

Negro-Labor Alliance - HERB WRIGHT, Panel Leader

Political Action - ISH FLORY, Panel Leader

Problems of Work in the White Community -
ARNOLD BECHETTI, Panel Leader

It was learned that 14 people participated in the panel on Negro-Labor Alliance, 12 in the panel on Political Action, and 12 in the panel on Problems of Work in the White Community.

In the Negro-Labor Alliance panel, HERB WRIGHT opened with a speech and stated that the Negro-Labor Alliance which flourished in the 1930's to build the greatest industrial unions of our nation was beheaded in the 1940's by the ruling class who recognized its great potential as a threat against the capitalistic system and by the stupidity of some top labor leaders who were naive enough to believe that the government and the McCarthyites were concerned only with the communists. In reality their goal was to purge the labor movement of the militants and blunt the thrust of a greater alliance that would not only embrace the economic struggles but also the mass struggles for peace, freedom, and the rightful place of the working class in the political arena.

WRIGHT stated that the racist rulers of our country and some unions have utilized every deceptive tactic known to prevent the regrowth of the Negro-Labor Alliance. WRIGHT further stated that those who seek to perpetuate these policies and the practices must be opposed and fought with all forces which the CP can muster and we should give special attention to the following four points which our Party must not only be the initiators, but the back bone of their implementation:

1. Breaking discrimination in the craft unions, especially building trades.
2. Organize the unorganized.
3. Build the Negro American Labor Council and Negro caucuses in the labor unions.
4. Combat racist ideology among workers and in their organizations.

In the discussion TED PEARSON said that there should be a special effort on the part of the CP to bridge the gap between the shops and the communities. He recommended that one way to do this is to commence distributing CP literature at the shop gates and in the union halls.

LULA SAFFOLD pointed out that Negro women are not being trained for skilled jobs in industry.

SARA JONES, an Illinois CP member from the south side of Chicago, stated that the Negro women do not have the opportunity to learn the skills where big money is being made.

AL HANOVER, a member of the Illinois CP, stated that there are three Negro apprentices employed in his plant but that they were so harrassed by the white employees that they were forced out of the plant.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that the Party must take the initiative and launch the program around the building trades as recommended. He said that the New York CP District is working on a program similar to this, especially where Federal funds are involved. We have to quit being so timid. Once an effort is undertaken you do not have to worry about allies. You will win support from unexpected sources. There are enough communists here in Chicago to start the ball rolling.

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At this time the panel groups re-assembled and reports concerning the three panels were then given. For the panel on Political Action ISH FLORY stated that the Party must concern itself with electing Negro candidates from the ghetto and must also consider running two community candidates, one black and one white, in the coming elections.

For the panel on Problems of Work in the White Community, BOB WOODS, an Illinois CP youth leader on the north side of Chicago, stated that the communists could do a terrific job in breaking down discrimination in housing in their own communities by informing their white neighbors of the special problems and issues facing the Negro people. WOODS said that the CP could also work in their labor unions to elect Negroes to leadership positions. He said we should also support candidates who back the Negro causes.

For the panel on Negro-Labor Alliance, KEN APPLEHANS gave the report and briefly summarized the information as previously discussed and set forth above.

In summarizing the panels, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that a lot of people always talk, but the CP must do some work to have something to talk about. LIGHTFOOT felt that the meeting was a reflection of the collectivity of our Party. We have withstood the Smith and McCarran Acts and have been harrassed by all sides and to come through on all of this and to make the progress we are making, is amazing. LIGHTFOOT said we have nothing to be ashamed of. We were forced out of the labor movement and other mass organizations, yet our Party was able to move ahead and play a vanguard role. LIGHTFOOT said he was highly satisfied with today's meeting and was expecting the Chicago communists to get a real struggle "going" against the building trade unions.

The following motions were then made and accepted:

1. Reproduce reports and recommendations from the three panels.

2. Continue the discussion of the Negro-Labor Alliance in the Industrial clubs in preparation for the national CP industrial conference tentatively scheduled for the spring of 1968.

3. That the Party print pamphlets on the Negro work.

4. That it be recommended to the Illinois CP Industrial Commission to prepare a white-paper on Negro leadership in the labor movement.

(CG T-1, 12/13/67)

(CG T-4, 12/13/67)

c. Meetings of South Central Freedom
of the Press Committee (SCFPC),
CP of Illinois

On September 20, 1967, a meeting of the SCFPC was held at the offices of the African-American Heritage Association (AAHA) at 416 West 63rd Street, Chicago.

ISHMAEL FLORY spoke and stated that something has to be done for the "Black Power" movement right away. The white CP leaders have promised to furnish him persons who will be capable of giving leadership to the "Black Power" movement, but this help has never materialized. He added that the white people and the bourgeoisie Negro have not seen or felt the power and the force of the "Black Power" people yet. The white lords downtown are thinking that the fires and riots in the states are over, but they have not seen anything yet. The "Black Power" people are going to burn and destroy everything the white man and the so-called better class Negro have. The "Black Power" people are just waiting until the time is right to set the United States on fire from the east coast to the west coast. The black CP members better wake up to what is going on around them. The white communist leaders have promised to furnish leadership for the "Black Power" people but have failed to do this and these "Black Power" youths are asking questions and there are no people to answer

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these questions and to lead them.

(CG T-5, 10/6/67)

ISHMAEL FLORY

ISHMAEL FLORY is a member of the State Committee,
CP of Illinois.

(CG T-1, 9/67)

On November 15, 1967, a meeting of the SCFPC was held at the offices of the AAHA at 416 West 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois.

ISH FLORY spoke and made a report of proceedings he said were undertaken at a recent State Board meeting of the Communist Party. He said the following proposals were made and agreed upon for "New Politics" and "Political Action" in the Afro-American Community:"

1. That a "political concentration" be set up in the 2nd, 6th, and 8th Wards of Chicago to organize and arouse those areas into political action;
2. That efforts also be made in the 20th Ward to select a candidate to oppose the incumbent alderman from that area;
3. To require every party member to join the Independent Political Organization and work under its name in the aforementioned wards;
4. To infiltrate the "Black Caucus" meetings and wage a fight to bring about an agreement to join white forces of the Party, for a statewide conference on New Politics.

(CG T-6, 11/27/67)

- d. Meeting of North Side Section,
CP of Illinois

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A meeting of the North Side Section, CP of Illinois, was held on October 27, 1967, in Chicago.

ISHMAEL FLORY spoke and stated that Afro-American is the proper way to address the so-called Negroes or Americans of African descent, and FLORY made a big point of this. All other national groups in America are identified as such, for example, the Italian Americans, the Greek Americans, the Polish Americans, and so forth. There presently is a trend within the Afro-American communities in this country to identify itself with the African culture, particularly with Africa's struggle for independence. The United Auto Workers strike against the Ford Motor Company was a good example of black and white workers fighting for a common goal.

(CG T-4, 11/1/67)

e. Statements by CP of Illinois
Leaders

On October 24, 1967, a meeting of the Jewish Commission, CP of Illinois, was held at Chicago.

JACK KLING gave a report on the Party's analysis of the events that occurred at the National Conference on New Politics (NCNP) in Chicago and a report of major items that were taken up at the last National Committee meeting of the CP, USA. Concerning the events of the NCNP, KLING stated that the Party feels that it was defeated in their desire to promote a third ticket. He stated that various people talk of the Negro as the key force in the left wing movement today and this concept is wrong. Certainly the Negro is a force today but to state that he is the only force discounts the white worker.

He stated that it was decided at the National Committee meeting to make the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the forthcoming Democratic Convention in Chicago a major point of concentration and

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that the Party is going to use this to show the Democratic Party what a demonstration really is like. He stated that a campaign will be started involving the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Party, which will include a petition campaign as well as a demonstration.

According to KLING, GUS HALL and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT were the major contributors at the recently held National Committee meeting. He stated that LIGHTFOOT identified the black nationalist movement as "progressive" and stated that the Party has to identify with the following three sections of the Negro population in the following manner:

- 1) The Party must ally itself with the militant movement which is signified by H. RAP BROWN *USA*
- 2) The Party must ally itself with an attempt to move forward the moderate sector of the Negro population which has as its head MARTIN LUTHER KING
- 3) The Party must isolate the conservative elements of the Negro population which is signified by the Reverend JAMES JACKSON, head of the Baptist Church.

KLING also stated that the leaders of the Party (not identified) had met with H. RAP BROWN and BROWN reportedly stated that as far as he was concerned the capitalist system in the United States offers absolutely nothing for the Negro. He reportedly stated that he wants to see socialism come to this country. KLING stated that these people (BROWN) are not Marxists, hence they will not be able to culminate their views and will not be able to lead without the help of the CP.

(CG T-7, 10/25/67)

JACK KLING

JACK KLING is the State Secretary, CP of Illinois.

GUS HALL

GUS HALL is the General Secretary, CP, USA.

(CG T-1, 10/67)

During November, 1967, EARL DURHAM stated that he feels that more information is necessary on the developments that have taken place for independent political action in the Negro communities, particularly the direction of the independent political organization, because this should be the main vehicle for the CP relationship to political activities in the ghetto.

DURHAM further stated as far as he knows there is no organized grouping in the Negro community concerning itself with the follow-up of the NCNP Convention held at Chicago during August and September, 1967.

DURHAM stressed that the CP leadership should spend more time on trying to get an understanding on exactly where the CP is at the present time in relationship to the mass movements of the Negro communities, even if it means going over individual by individual in an attempt to try and develop relationships between CP members and persons active in various organizations in their respective communities.

(CG T-2, 11/8/67)

B. Statements by National CP Leaders

An enlarged meeting of the National Negro Commission of the CP, USA was held at the Hotel Victoria Abbey, New York City, New York, on October 14 and 15, 1967. The purpose of this conference was to discuss "A New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Rights." HELEN WINTER, CP, USA, National Committee (NC) member, was heard to state that 78 individuals had registered for this conference.

The conference was opened by HENRY WINSTON, CP, USA NC member and Chairman of the CP, USA, who called the conference to order and welcomed the delegates. Following WINSTON's opening remarks, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, CP, USA NC member and Chairman of the National Negro Commission, gave a two hour report based upon an article which was recently published in "Political Affairs" and written by ROSCOE PROCTOR, a CP, USA NC member from California.

LIGHTFOOT reported that the background for all discussions at this conference is concerned with the problem of war or peace and the growing Fascist danger in the United States. LIGHTFOOT added that the unity of Negro and white is in danger unless this crisis is changed abruptly. LIGHTFOOT indicated that his report would deal with the following topics:

1. The character of the CP
2. The analysis of black nationalism
3. The analysis of the struggle for Negro rights
4. An estimate of past CP policies
5. The vanguard role of the CP.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT began his report by quoting from PROCTOR's article by giving an estimate that the situation in the black ghetto will probably last for another ten years. LIGHTFOOT criticized that estimate because it was taken out of context of the direction and relationship to the rest of the country and stated that ROSCOE PROCTOR did not speak of the direction of Negro nationalism. LIGHTFOOT indicated that black nationalism is a conditioned reflex and not a thing in itself. LIGHTFOOT continued in his report by indicating that the struggle in the United States is slowly converging on the war policies of the Administration and he used as examples of the discontent that is presently existing in the United States; the crime statistics and the economic situation, all of which LIGHTFOOT suggested are results of the decaying nature of capitalism. LIGHTFOOT commented that the pro-Democratic forces have reached an extremely high level but there are conditions within it that endangers its unity. According to LIGHTFOOT the factors that lead to this unity are basically ideological and that the

problem of racism is still a major splitting ideology in the United States today.

LIGHTFOOT then proceeded to mention two main issues around which racist ideology flourishes today in America. These are 1) economic conditions and 2) housing.

The growth of unemployment generally in the country presents the American working class, black and white, with a shrinking labor market and, therefore, workers compete for what jobs are available. This ideology of racism becomes a weapon in the hands of white workers to reduce their competition.

LIGHTFOOT in his report referred to unemployment figures which he had taken from the recently published United States Department of Labor statistics. He stated that the unions themselves have been barriers to the growth of Negro skills and he singled out the building trade union as one of the most racist unions presently in the United States.

On housing, LIGHTFOOT demanded a comprehensive program to solve the housing problems and what is needed. LIGHTFOOT stated is a radical shift in racist ideology. Racism is the major cause of black nationalism and it is a reaction to the feeling of being rejected by the white society. LIGHTFOOT added that the struggle for integration did not succeed and this placed before the ghetto a feeling that integration is not the answer. He also mentioned the psychological struggle to combat the inferiority feeling among the Negro people and indicated that there are three major forces in the ghetto which make up this nationalist trend. These three major forces according to LIGHTFOOT are as follows:

1. The first is the more recent migrants from the South who are working or unemployed and do not have the experience of the trade union movement.

2. The Negro youth, both students and workers, who make up a large section of the ghetto unemployed.
3. A small but important Negro business.

LIGHTFOOT commented that these three major forces are the main springboards for black nationalists.

LIGHTFOOT in his report to this conference continued by stating that the Party's position must be to support the progressive part of nationalism and reject the reactionary aspects and to this LIGHTFOOT added that the Black Muslim movement is reactionary and we, the Party, must reject that movement. The main wave of nationalism according to LIGHTFOOT is against capitalism and that the fight for the identity of the unity of the Negro community will be supported by the CP. LIGHTFOOT stated that we reject the concept of guerilla warfare in the Negro community inasmuch as this type of action cannot succeed because it does not have the support of the masses and no armed uprising can succeed unless it is supported by the people. LIGHTFOOT stated that to attempt such an uprising without the support of the people is suicide. LIGHTFOOT stated that MARTIN LUTHER KING was wrong when he said that violence was the only technique that the American ruling class responds to. The Party has had experience on the question of force and violence and we must restate our position. We do support the right of the Negro people for self defense. We do not accept the proposition that concessions can only be won through violence. Many of the young militants say today that they have no chance for advancing because of the lack of Negro freedom of capitalism. LIGHTFOOT added that the Party must reject that formulation because it tends to immobilize the black community. Socialism, of course, is the direction of our struggle but that requires a struggle for democracy and it is possible to change the status of the tokenism under capitalism.

LIGHTFOOT further stated that the main question with respect to this matter is how do you change the power structure. In answer to this question, LIGHTFOOT stated that the most important weapon is through the electoral process and in this vein we must fight to enlarge Negro representation. We must struggle to steer the political power relationship and that the Party policy in the past was not wrong; however, it was in some instances. It was correct for the Party to change its slogan to self determination for the "black belt;" however, we held that the Negro question was still a national question but we did not probe deeply enough into the characteristics that are new in the Negro life.

LIGHTFOOT iterated that the line of the Party must be constantly reviewed and new factors added. The transition from the South to the North by large numbers of Negro people in the recent years did not automatically make proletarians out of these Negro migrants. There are still many "with a southern rural background" and that the Party line is sufficient to put us in a better position in relationship to the current nationalist movement.

There is a problem of conservatism in our ranks and the independent role of the Party is not sufficiently far out. We still tend to tail the mass movement. We must identify with all of the advance forces and we must fight for coalition of Negro and labor. We must make a change in our approach to the building trades.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the general task of the CP today includes the following:

1. Reversing the current trend that has a danger of developing into a race war
2. To reverse the racist policy in the building trade union
3. The organization of the unorganized

LIGHTFOOT stated that the Party must associate themselves with the fight for political and economic power of the Negro people in the ghetto and that the Party must be in a position to work with the moderates as well as the militants in the ghetto. LIGHTFOOT concluded in his report by stating that with a unified struggle the Party is decisive in fighting for black-white unity.

During a discussion following LIGHTFOOT's report, GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, spoke and in his comments place emphasis on the struggle against racism in the white communities. This according to HALL is a major weakness. He further said that our greatest task is to win large masses of Northern whites to fight in the struggle for Negro freedom. He said that the CP does not have many white experts in this field, and that the Party today has inadequate literature to cover this most important topic.

HALL continued in his remarks by stating that the Party must convince the peace forces in the United States that they can win if they help win the Negro freedom, and to fight for Negro freedom will not lead to isolation as some people seem to think.

The conference was then broken into six panels and these panels dealt with the following topics:

1. The Negro in Arts - chaired by AL SIMON
2. Political Action in the Negro Community - chaired by EARL DURHAM, CP, USA NC member
3. The African-American Women Question - chaired by ALVA BUXENBAUM, CP, USA NC member
4. Organization in the White Community - chaired by GIL GREEN, CP, USA NC member
5. Techniques and Tactics of Struggle - chaired by ROSCOE PROCTOR
6. Economic Problems of the Negro Community - chaired by CARL BLOICE, CP, USA NC member

The aforementioned panels commenced on the evening of October 14, 1967, at the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City.

Concerning the panel entitled "Techniques and Tactics of Struggle," chaired by ROSCOE PROCTOR, four points were discussed in regard to this panel, namely:

1. What is the Party's attitude toward organizing around uprisings in the ghetto?
2. How should the Party view the struggle for peaceful gains in revolutionary reforms?
3. How should the Party go about changing the direction toward socialism?
4. What are the variety of forms which must be used interchangeably?

ROSCOE PROCTOR first stated that it has been said that liberation comes from the barrel of a gun. There are 500 black people in Northern California talking along these lines. These same people are talking about armed guerrilla warfare and terrorist action against Uncle Toms in the ghetto, but all these ideas must be rejected. However, in the area of self-defense, the Party will support this idea because it is so defined in the words of the United States Constitution in regard to self-defense.

PROCTOR then asked the question as to what is the real purpose of violence. He answered this by stating that it stems from the fact that violence is the only thing which the power structure will recognize and then it causes the power structure to finally sit down and discuss the issues.

HERB WRIGHT, CP, USA, NC member from Chicago, stated that he questioned anyone who would resort to arms because it would bring about the slaughter of thousands of black people. He stated that if the issue of using legal process to win gains is brought up, this already has been done since 1909 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); however, apparently this process is too slow and ineffective. WRIGHT was concerned as to what the possibilities are of the black communities winning gains through the electoral machinery.

~~JOSE STEVENS~~, who is presently attending CP, USA leadership school in New York City, stated that the Party must blame the violence in our cities on the ruling class since they perpetuate a condition which brings on violence. He said that the Party continues to criticize black militants for over emphasizing violence but still the Party does not provide a program in order to direct them in a better direction. STEVENS favored opposing all gun laws, but added to this statement that really we should disarm the enemy of the people but not the people themselves. *lll*

With respect to the panel on "Political Action in the Negro Community," EARL DURHAM chaired this panel and opened his report by indicating that there was no prepared report because the individual responsible for this report was not available at the present time.

However, DURHAM felt that the panel should discuss the general problems of political action that are facing the American people today. DURHAM reported by giving a picture of the successful campaign in Chicago, Illinois, for the aldermanic elections and the formation of the independent political organization. DURHAM also indicated that there was difficulty in developing the new politics movement in Chicago at the present time.

Following DURHAM's report a general discussion was held and the only significant development during this particular discussion was the participation of JIM JACKSON, CP, USA, NC member from New York. JACKSON indicated during the discussion that in essence he was opposed to developing a line where the main emphasis in the ghetto was for political action for new politics. JACKSON placed his emphasis on the independent campaigns or any campaigns that guaranteed the expansion of the maximum number of Negro candidates.

The enlarged meeting of the National Negro Commission of the CP, USA, was reconvened on Sunday, October 15, 1967, at the Victoria Abbey Hotel, New York City.

The first report to the re-convened conference was from the panel on the "Negro Arts," which was chaired by AL SIMON. SIMON indicated that the panel itself did not materialize the preceeding evening because no one attended, so as a result SIMON then gave a report that he was to give at the aforementioned panel. SIMON reported that in essence his report was an examination of the position of Negro artists, writers, and performers in the country and he discussed the content of their work as being mainly in the black power stream. SIMON furnished many examples of restrictions and discriminations that Negro artists, writers, and performers are meeting with today, but also emphasized how these same individuals were now working to improve the image of black America. A proposal was made for a national conference of African-American artists should take place some time in the future; however, this proposal was rejected. Following SIMON's report he received a standing ovation because of the excellence of style and the content of his report.

Following SIMON's report a report was given from the panel on the "African-American Women Question." This report was given by ALVA BUXENBAUM, who chaired the panel and the contents of BUXENBAUM's report dealt with the double discrimination against Negro women in the United States today; the lack of leadership to the problems of Negro women; the weaknesses in the Party in understanding the necessity for the organization of Negro women; and a series of other examples and problems facing the Negro women's movement in the United States.

Following BUXENBAUM's report a report was then given on the panel entitled "The Organization in the White Community." It was indicated that this panel discussed the ideological struggle against racism; the struggle that must take place in the labor movement, and a series of other generalizations dealing with the

problem of white people participating in the white communities against racism. It was emphasized that there was a need in the United States for the creation of forms of struggle such as the new politics movement.

Following the report on the panel entitled "The Organization in the White Community," a report then was given by ROSCOE PROCTOR on the panel "Techniques and Tactics of Struggle." PROCTOR reported that this panel had discussed in detail the question of violence and that the panel re-affirmed PROCTOR's statement that the oppressed people have the right to overthrow their oppressors by any means possible. According to PROCTOR this right is guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence; however, it depends on the time, place, and circumstances. PROCTOR continued by stating that the current emphasis on violence by sections of the black movement is due to their lack of confidence that you can win the white working class or you can unify the black community.

PROCTOR continued by stating that the Party must denounce the irresponsible terrorist-rightist activity and that the Party must reject such violence and although the uprisings did dramatize the oppression of the Negro people they were spontaneous, unorganized, and not directed. Such violence is meaningless in terms of liberation and the Party supports the right of self-defense. PROCTOR stated that only when the masses have decided through struggle that there are no more open channels and when the enemy refuses to grant their demands will violence be the only alternative, but premature violence the Party must oppose.

The next question PROCTOR discussed was reform and revolution. PROCTOR indicated that the Party must fight for reform within the framework of capitalism. The only question is that how do we struggle to guarantee that the reform is not viewed as the answer to the problem. The programs that we should project must go beyond what we feel the power structure will grant but based on what the community needs. We must relate the partial demands to more advanced demands. PROCTOR added that in order to fulfill any of this the Party must be in the black community; the Party must fight for a unified program of black and white; the Party must fight for a class analysis; the Party must bring into being left forms in the ghetto; and that the Party must

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project issues that can bring about mass forms of organization. The tactics should include boycotts, work stopages, the commemoration of black heroes, black caucuses in the labor movement and in other organizations, a discussion bulletin from the Negro Commission, more full-time black organizers in the Party with perhaps a regional setup in the districts with a special budget for Negro work and a special approach to Negro youth.

The next report was from the panel of "Economic Problems of the Negro Community." CARL BLOICE gave the report on this panel and furnished statistics on the worsening economic conditions that presently exist in the ghettos throughout the United States. BLOICE proposed a long-range strategic program but first he stated the Party should reject the Third World concept, and secondly reject the analysis that the black ghettos are an eternal colony. BLOICE stated that the immediate questions with respect to this matter are as follows:

1. Organization of the unorganized
2. Fight JIM CROW in the building trades
3. A shorter work week
4. A crash program to combat hunger and poverty
- (NALC) 5. A new look at the Negro American Labor Council
6. Attention to the Youth
7. A closer study of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH's freedom budget.

Following BLOICE's report a report was then given on the "Political Action in the Negro Community" by EARL DURHAM.

In his report DURHAM stated that the panel was weakened by the fact that the individual selected to lead

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it was not available and, therefore, there was no formal report presented; however, DURHAM stated that the discussion during this panel involved some of the following major questions:

1. On the emphasis for the Party to support the STOKES-HATCHER mayoral campaigns in Cleveland, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana, respectively.

2. That the Party's participation be in the direction of strengthening labor's roles in these campaigns .

3. Maximum emphasis be placed on the increase of Negro elected officials and that this be the main push for the Party.

4. On new politics - a criticism was leveled against the main report for not including perspectives for new politics; therefore, it weakened the discussion on the panel. However, the panel feels that new politics should be supported wherever possible.

Lastly, an examination of a proposal from the Newark black power conference that projected a national black convention in 1968 was made with no positive results.

Following DURHAM's report this ended the various panel reports. The conference then went into a discussion concerning these reports. The conference adopted all of the reports with very few amendments until ROSCOE PROCTOR proposed that the establishment of "black Party clubs" be considered as a form in the black communities. With this proposal debate at this conference became quite extensive and lasted almost an hour and because of this the conference ran overtime. The essence of this debate was the concern of those in attendance at this conference that if PROCTOR's proposal would be adopted this would lead to the formalizing of JIM CROW clubs within the CP.

PROCTOR the tried to explain he was only making this proposal as a "tactic" and following this the resolution of the debate was the withdrawal of the original motion and the adoption of the amendment that had been made by CARL BLOICE not to have black clubs within the CP, USA. This question was then referred to a future National Negro Commission meeting. The debate which occurred concerning this question raised by PROCTOR was that it was at times quite sharp and that added fuel to this debate occurred when PROCTOR further indicated that he felt that perhaps a black caucus in the Party should also be sanctioned.

As a result of the reports and discussion held at this conference, a five-man committee was established in order to prepare a "Manifesto on the Negro Question."

(CG T-1, 10/16/67)
CG T-2, 10/16 and 19/67)

"POLITICAL AFFAIRS"

The September, 1967, edition of "Political Affairs," which is published monthly by the New Century Publishers, Incorporated, 23 West 26th Stfeet, New York New York, is self-described on the inside cover page as a "theoretical journal of the Communist Party (CP, USA)."

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

- A. Meetings of "Black Caucus" Group
Formed at National Conference for
New Politics (NCNP) Convention held
at Chicago, August 29, 1967 -
September 4, 1967, Where CP Members
in Attendance

A meeting of members of the "Black Caucus" group formed at the NCNP Convention held at Chicago August 29, 1967 - September 4, 1967, was held at Chicago on October 19, 1967.

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It was stated that this meeting was called to bring together interested "Black Power" groups so that a positive program of action could be adopted.

Several speakers stated that a program must be developed so that the problems of the black people in the United States can be solved.

The following members of the CP of Illinois were in attendance at this meeting:

RANDY HOWARD
LULA SAFFOLD
INMAN WADE

(CG T-8, 11/2/67)

A meeting of members of the "Black Caucus" group formed at the NCNP Convention was held at Chicago on November 2, 1967.

The following CP of Illinois members were in attendance at this meeting:

RANDY HOWARD
LULA SAFFOLD
AL MC PHERSON

The "Black Caucus" group decided that it would not participate in any more NCNP activities until this "Black Caucus" group was more fully organized.

(CG T-9, 11/6/67)

B. Meetings of the Chicago Chapter
of the Negro American Labor Council
(NALC) Where CP Members Were in Attendance

A meeting of the Chicago Chapter of the NALC was held on October 19, 1967, at Chicago, and the following CP of Illinois members were in attendance:

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Mr. and Mrs. HERB WRIGHT

NATE SHARPE

CHARLES WILSON

During the meeting the question of establishing a program of action for the Chicago Chapter took place. It was brought out that in order to build the organization, it must do something for the people and it was felt that this can be done by getting jobs for Negroes.

(CG T-10, 10/20/67)

A meeting of the Chicago Chapter of the NALC was held on October 20, 1967, at Chicago.

Approximately 20 individuals were present at this meeting, including about a half dozen students from Proviso East High School, Maywood, Illinois. The following CP members were observed in attendance:

HERB WRIGHT
CHARLES WILSON
CORNELIUS COBBS

The main discussion centered around the racial problems which have arisen at Proviso East High School. The students were invited to this meeting in order to give their views as to what caused this racial unrest. The students pointed out that there were several reasons for the unrest; among them were teacher harassment and police harassment. One other reason was that a Negro girl was among the finalists in a beauty contest and was somehow or other cheated during the selection of the queen.

The members of the Chicago Chapter of the NALC advised the students to return to their school and if the problems they mentioned continue, they should come to them, and they will file a complaint under the name of the NALC.

(CG T-11, 11/2/67)

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND
INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER
ORGANIZATIONS

A. Chicago Urban League (CUL)

The CP at the present time exercises no influence within the CUL.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

B. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within CORE.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

C. Coordinating Council of
Community Organizations (CCCO)

Relative to CCCO, HERBERT WRIGHT, a member of the CP of Illinois, is an alternate delegate from the NALC to the CCCO, but at the present time WRIGHT exerts very little, if any, influence in the CCCO.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

D. National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

The CP of Illinois still has LESTER DAVIS, CP of Illinois member, assigned to the Chicago Branch of the NAACP, but at the current time DAVIS is doing little or nothing to implement CP policy relative to NAACP.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

E. Negro American Labor Council (NALC)

Concerning the NALC, the CP of Illinois currently has five individuals, all CP members, who form a collective from the CP of Illinois within the NALC. The main objective of this collective is to involve the NALC in a program of organizing the unorganized Negro workers in the Chicago area with particular emphasis on organizing Negro hospital workers. The NALC's program at the present time can be considered to be quite ineffective because the Chicago Chapter of the NALC is currently having financial problems and has been quite inactive recently.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

F. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the SCLC.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

G. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the SNCC.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

H. West Side Organization (WSO)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the WSO.

(CG T-1, 1/19/68)
(CG T-2, 1/22/68)

APPENDIXAFRICAN-AMERICAN HERITAGE ASSOCIATION

A source advised on May 8, 1967, that the African-American Heritage Association (AAHA) was known as the Afro-American Heritage Association until February, 1961. It was founded by ISHMAEL FLORY around 1958 and incorporated in the State of Illinois as a non-profit organization. It was founded ostensibly for the purpose of teaching African history and culture to American Negroes. AAHA is strongly influenced by the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois. It is represented by both communist and non-communist members and some people with strong Negro nationalistic tendencies. This organization reflects CP policy on some issues and opposes CP policy on others; for example, the CP rejects the concept of Afro-American as a reference term to the American Negro and rejects aspects of nationalism, both of which are reflected in the AAHA program. FLORY is a member of the CP of Illinois and theoretically under the discipline of the CP. He is the guiding force in AAHA and controls policy and decisions in AAHA. CP representatives occasionally are featured at AAHA affairs.

A second source advised on January 9, 1967, that during the first week of January, 1967, the AAHA moved their headquarters from 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, to 416 West 63rd Street, Chicago.

A third source advised on April 12, 1967, that ISHMAEL FLORY, a current CP member, continues to be the undisputed leader of AAHA and as such makes policies and decisions for AAHA. The other officers simply carry out FLORY's decisions. The Executive Committee of the South Central Freedom of the Press Committee, CP of Illinois, also participates in formulating the policies of AAHA.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

100-41324

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS, CHICAGO DIVISION
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	is made to report of Special Agent Leland G. Richie dated and captioned as above at Chicago.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MILWAUKEE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/3/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/26 - 1/31/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA RUSSELL D. JONES	TYPED BY duz
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE

Report of SA RUSSELL D. JONES, 11/1/67.

- P* -

LEAD

THE MILWAUKEE DIVISION

At Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

Will follow and report activities relating to Communist influence in racial matters and submit next report by 5/1/68.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: ⑨ - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - MIG, Milwaukee (RM) 2 - OSI, Milwaukee (RM) (1 - OSI, Chicago) 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM) 1 - NIS, Milwaukee (RM) 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 2 - Milwaukee (100-14439) (RM)		100-442529-24777 REC-24 EX 109 - A - 4 FEB 5 1968	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By
OSI, [redacted]	DATE [redacted]	DATE [redacted]	HOW [redacted]	BY: [redacted]
1cc [redacted]				

Notations: RACIAL INT/SECT.

[Signature]

MI 100-14439

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains information furnished by MI T-1 and T-2, the unauthorized disclosure of which would compromise informants and could be prejudicial to the national defense.

All persons mentioned in this report are on the Security Index.

INFORMANT

Identity

Location

MI T-1 is

MI T-2 is

MI 100-15247.

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

- B* -

COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Military Intelligence, Milwaukee (RM)
2 - OSI, Milwaukee (1-OSI, Chicago) (RM)
1 - NIS, Chicago, (RM)
1 - NIS, Milwaukee (RM)

Report of: SA RUSSELL D. JONES
Date: February 3, 1968

Office: MILWAUKEE

Field Office File #: MI 100-14439

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Two members of Workers World Party attended rally sponsored by Milwaukee Youth Council, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and were asked to leave or they would be thrown out because the Youth Council did not want any communists present at any rallies. Informant advised individual members of Workers World Party have occasionally participated in civil rights marches of the Milwaukee Youth Council but hold no position therein.

- P* -

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party, USA (CP, USA)

No information developed.

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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MI 100-14439

B. Workers World Party (WWP)

A characterization of the WWP appears in the appendix attached hereto.

On October 13, 1967, MI T-1 advised that a meeting of the Milwaukee Branch was held on September 10, 1967, and [] reported that she and [] both of whom are members of the Milwaukee Branch, attended a rally at St. Boniface Church sponsored by the Milwaukee Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which organization is engaged in nightly marches in the City of Milwaukee designed to promote the passage of open housing legislation in Milwaukee. According to [] she and [] were told to leave the meeting by members of the Milwaukee Youth Council or they would be thrown out as members of the Milwaukee Youth Council did not want any Communists present at their rallies. [] further reported, although she and [] left the rally, they later participated in the march sponsored by the Milwaukee Youth Council during which time they distributed copies of the "Workers World" newspaper.

Wisc.

b6
b7C

b6
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On December 6, 1967, MI T-2 advised as of that date the Milwaukee Branch was discussing the possibility of engaging in demonstrations aimed at the Allen-Bradley Company in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for the purpose of bringing about a more liberal hiring policy towards Negroes on the part of that Company. The Milwaukee Branch objected to the token hiring of Negroes on the part of the Allen-Bradley Company, and according to MI T-2, officers of the Milwaukee Branch were in the process of contacting civil rights leaders and clergymen for the purpose of obtaining their support in this project.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

On January 26, 1968, MI T-2 advised that individual members of the WWP have occasionally participated in marches

MI 100-14439

sponsored by the Milwaukee Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), held between November, 1967, through January, 1968, for the purpose of distributing literature of the WWP. MI T-2 further advised that the WWP members held no position of leadership with the Milwaukee Youth Council.

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WORKERS WORLD PARTY

On April 17, 1959, a source advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group under the leadership of National Committee member Sam Ballan split from the SWP.

The source stated that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of Leon Trotsky and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery-individuals characterized by the minority as petty-bourgeois.

The minority program, according to source, advocated unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

On May 12, 1960, the source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 1, 1967, a second source advised that the Workers World Party, which maintains headquarters at 46 West 21st Street, New York City, supports the People's Republic of China in its ideological dispute with the Soviet Union.

The SWP and the CP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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4*

APPENDIX



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

February 3, 1968

Title

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference

Report of SA RUSSELL D.
JONES, dated and captioned
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/31/68

FROM : SAC, Baltimore (100-23443) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

(OO: NY)

ReBAlet to Director dated 9/29/67.

During the past three months, contact has been maintained with confidential informants familiar with certain phases of Communist Party (CP) activities and other communist-type activities within the Baltimore Division as well as with racial sources within racial movement. These contacts failed to disclose any information reflecting that there is any significant communist influence in racial matters within the Baltimore Division. The following confidential informants were contacted specifically in this matter as follows:

on 1/25/68
on 1/25/68
on 1/26/68
on 1/25/68

b6
b7C
b7D

The first three informants mentioned are sources within the CP while the fourth informant mentioned is familiar with communist activities other than CP. The first three informants have advised that the CP leadership in the Baltimore area appears to be deliberately avoiding any significant contact with Civil Rights leaders or groups. The most active militant Civil Rights group in the Baltimore Division is the Target City Project of the Congress on Racial Equality. This group and several other groups are taking a more militant attitude and are excluding many white persons from their activities.

- EX 103
REC-41
- ② - Bureau - Registered Mail
 - 2 - New York (100-153735) - Registered Mail
 - 1 - Baltimore

100-442529-2478

4 FEB 2 1968

FJW:bas
(5)



5 FEB 2 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

BA 100-23443

The Baltimore Office will continue to be alert for any communist influence in racial matters within the Baltimore Division and will report any information reflecting any significant communist influence in such matters.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2/1/68

FROM : SAC, Minneapolis (100-13148) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM

Re Minneapolis letters to Bureau 11/1/67 and 1/8/68.

Referenced Minneapolis letter of 1/8/68 furnished to the Bureau and New York copies of documents provided [redacted] Organizational Secretary, MDDCP, relating to a conference on Negro matters held at New York, New York, in October, 1967.

b6
b7C
b7D

Contact with established sources and security informants of the Minneapolis Office knowledgeable in the Racial Matters field has indicated that there has been no change in the over-all situation in regard to Communist influence in racial matters during the past three months. The Minneapolis Office has no pertinent information to report in this matter at this time.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis

DEW:CK
(5)

REC-59

100-442529-2477

12 FEB 5 1968

[Signature]
RACIAL INT. SECT.

FEB 1 15 58 PM '68

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1968

13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2/1/68

FROM : SAC, HOUSTON (100-10100) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM

IS-C

(OO: New York)

ReHOlet, 11/1/67.

A review of appropriate case files in the security and racial fields discloses there has been no activity in the Houston territory during the past three months pertinent to captioned matter.

In the event any positive information is developed from confidential informants and sources in the future, such information will be promptly furnished the Bureau.

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter to Albany, 8/28/64, no investigative report is being submitted by Houston at this time.

- 2 - Bureau (RM-AM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
 - 1 - Houston
- KBJ/sjm
(4)

EX-109

100-442529-2480

REC 37

3 FEB 5 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Rugman



5 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529) DATE: 2/1/68

FROM : *LE* SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (100-2744) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS *(CIRM)*
IS - C

Re Albuquerque letters of 8/1/67, and 11/6/67.

Albuquerque's report for the period 11/1/67 through 1/31/68, is as follows:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

No information available.

B. OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

No information available.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information available.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No information available.

PAT BLAU BLAWIS was elected to the CP National Committee at the 18th Convention of the CP, USA, held in New York City in June, 1966. On her return to the State of New Mexico, PAT BLAWIS, who currently resides in Santa Fe, New Mexico, indicated she planned to create a functioning CP organization in the State of New Mexico. On 12/11/67, [redacted] stated there has not been a formal CP organization functioning in the State of New Mexico during 1967 and as far as he could tell PAT BLAU BLAWIS had done little toward the creation of a functioning CP organization for the State of New Mexico.

b6
b7C
b7D

- 100-442529-2481
EX 110 REC-25
② - Bureau (RAM)
1 - New York (100-153735) (RAM)
1 - Albuquerque
RJW/dak
(4)

14 FEB 5 1968

66 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



AQ 100-2744

He stated that PAT BLAU BLAWIS had in September, 1967, indicated that she would be collecting CP, USA, dues from members residing in New Mexico and inferred she was the only person who was in contact with other CP, USA, members in this state.

On 1/23/68, [] advised that in his opinion there are no serious racial problems in the State of New Mexico and that because of this, the CP, USA, did not find racial matters in this state a suitable issue for exploitation.

b6
b7C
b7D

All available information has been reviewed and there was no indication of any communist influence in racial matters in the State of New Mexico, during the above period. Sources available to this office have furnished information reflecting that the State of New Mexico does not have racial problems, as such and it appears that all action taken in connection with racial matters is on a legitimate basis.

Informants, potential security informants, and sources of the Albuquerque Office have been realerted to immediately report any information coming to their attention indicating there is a communist influence in racial matters in the State of New Mexico.

Investigation by the Albuquerque Office of captioned matter for the past quarter is completely negative and accordingly no report is being submitted.

In view of the negative character of Albuquerque's investigation, no local dissemination has been made of the information contained herein pursuant to Section 87-C, Page 12-C, Manual of Instructions.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/31/68

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10317) - P* -

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 8/28/64
and Springfield letter to Bureau dated 10/31/67.

Contact with informants and sources in the
Springfield Division has failed to reflect any information
pertinent to captioned matter.

ST-108 REC-68

- 2 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (Info) (100-153735) (RM)
 - 2 - Springfield (100-10317)
- THE:jah
(5)

100-442529-2482

15 FEB 5 1968

62 FEB 13 1968

RACIAL SEC.



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/31/68

FROM : *per lss* SAC, Omaha (100-6837) (RUC)

BT SUBJECT: *0* COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - R

D. M. Jacobs

Re Omaha letter to Bureau 10/31/67.

There has been no information developed in the Omaha Division since referenced letter to indicate that there is any communist influence in racial matters.

cc 50-670
2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Omaha
DGH:fh
(3)

REC-68

100-442529-2483

EX 106

FEB 5 1968

[Signature]
RACIAL MAT. FILE



163

5 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/31/68

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (100-805) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS--C
(OO:NY)

ReTPlet, 10/30/67.

Tampa has no information to report for the
quarter ending 1/31/68.

REC-68

EX-113

- cc 606940
- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
 - 1 - Tampa
- JEH:cj
(4)

100-442529-2484

11 FEB 5 1968

RACIAL INT/SECT



FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN JUAN	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/31/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/15-25/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY RICHARD C. SONNICHSEN	TYPED BY vem
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C	

REFERENCE:

San Juan letter to Bureau, dated 10/31/67.

- P* -

INFORMANTS:Identity of Source

SJ T-1

Locationb3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- ⑤ - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
 1 - NISO, 10th ND, SJ (By Hand)
 1 - 771st MIDET, SJ (By Hand)
 1 - OSI, Ramey AFB (RM)
 1 - New York (Info) (RM)
 2 - San Juan (100-6702)

100-442529 2485 REC-71

EX 110

FEB 5 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

100-442529-1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2

SJ 100-6702

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The incident referred to in the details of this report was neither Communist inspired nor Communist led. It appears to have been an isolated case and it is doubtful that it could be correctly construed as a "riot with racial character". There have been no subsequent events on the Island of Vieques and the article as set forth in this report is the only mention of the incident made or heard within the PCP.

The PCP has no racial strategy or tactics and no follow-up in PCP meetings concerning this incident has been noted. It appears that this article was merely a space filler in a Communist newspaper that has limited circulation and little influence outside the PCP membership.

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information furnished by SJ T-1, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in the identification of this informant and thereby compromise his future effectiveness.

COVER PAGE
B*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - NISO, 10th Naval District, San Juan (By Hand)
1 - 771st Military Intelligence Detachment, San Juan (By Hand)
1 - OSI, Ramey Air Force Base (RM)

Report of: RICHARD C. SONNICHSEN
Date: 1/31/68

Office: San Juan, Puerto Rico

Field Office File #: 100-6702

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: The November, 1967, issue of "Pueblo", the Puerto Rican Communist Party newspaper, contained an article indicating a "fight" between US Marines and civilian personnel on the Puerto Rican Island of Vieques had a "racial character". Article set out.

- P* -

DETAILS:I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No information developed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The following article is a translation from Spanish of an article that appeared in the November, 1967, issue of "Pueblo", the Partido Comunista Puertorriqueno (Communist Party of Puerto Rico) (PCP) official newspaper.

A characterization of the PCP appears in the Appendix of this report.

"They Want to Import Racial Prejudice on Us

"The Island of Vieques was, some time ago, the stage for a 'fight' between marines and civilians. The marines, according to what has been indicated, had come from Viet Nam, after having been forced to serve in the criminal and dirty war which Yankee imperialism has unchained against that heroic Asiatic people.

"As everybody knows, the Navy Department of the United States has taken the land and property of the inhabitants of that Island to install a naval base to serve their war and aggression plans in the Caribbean, Latin America, and other peoples of the world who struggle for their political independence and economic liberty.

"According to what has been said several times, the riot had a racial character, for the marines involved in the same were Negroes who began to sing songs of the 'Black Power', an organization which struggles for the liberty and dignity of the Negroes in the United States. The young men in Vieques answered by singing 'La Borinquena', the Puerto Rican hymn.

"The Puerto Rican people do not have racial prejudices. Parents do not teach their children to hate other races, and much less, the Negro Race.

"In Puerto Rico there have never been racial problems like those in the United States; the White and the Negro boys go to school together and sit together in the same classrooms, contrary to what goes on in the schools in the South of that Country; in the university, Negro students are not refused admittance, as it is refused in the Southern universities of that Country; we don't have a Ku Kux Klan that attacks, murders and mistreats Negroes because they are Negroes. In Puerto Rico, churches and Negro homes have never been bombed, as has happened in the South of the United States, where there is a God for the White and another one for the Negro, and there have never been savageries against the Negro race as those which we constantly see are happening in the 'great country of the American democracy'.

"This virtue was born with our people and was not brought by the Yankee Army when its repulsive boot stepped on the right for our liberty and our dignity, in 1898.

"What happened in Vieques is something that should be thought about and analyzed from different angles, and one of them is the political point of view. Yankee imperialism might be somewhat worried about the unity which is being formed between the struggle of the Negroes for their liberty in the United States and the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. It could be possible that a well planned maneuver be woven by the CIA experts, in order to cool the cordial relations which already exist among organizations which struggle in the United States for the equality and dignity of the Negro people, and those which struggle in Puerto Rico for the national liberation and the respect for the dignity of a free and sovereign people.

"It could be possible that, without knowing it, the Negro soldiers in Vieques are falling in the CIA trap to bring to our beaches the racial hates which do not exist here as they do on the United States.

SJ 100-6702

"Today, more than ever, it is necessary to have a closer watch over the defense of our customs, our culture, our language. To do this, there is only one way: INDEPENDENCE FIRST."

November, 1967, issue
of "Pueblo", furnished
by SJ T-1, on
October 30, 1967.

SJ 100-6702

APPENDIX

1

PARTIDO COMUNISTA PUERTORRIQUENO
(COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO)
(PCP)

An article by JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, PCP Chairman, in the February 19, 1944 issue of "Puerto Rico, Ayer, Hoy y Manana" (Puerto Rico, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow) set out that the PCP was founded in Ponce, Puerto Rico, on September 23, 1934.

In May, 1964, SANTOS RIVERA publicly declared that the Partido Comunista Puertorriqueno was now named the Partido Obrero Liberador (Liberating Workers Party) (POL).

On September 12, 1966, a source advised that on September 8, 1966, SANTOS RIVERA called a special POL meeting at which he announced that the Partido Obrero Liberador designation was being dropped in favor of the organization's original title, Partido Comunista Puertorriqueno.

The source further advised that a communication had recently been received from the Communist Party in Prague, Czechoslovakia, to the effect that Puerto Rico is recognized as a nation and that the PCP is therefore a communist party in its own right and not a district organization of the CP, USA. The source continued that although the PCP is not a district organization of the CP, USA, it is based on the same Marxist-Leninist principles as the CP, USA.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Juan, Puerto Rico
January 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Character	Internal Security - C
Reference	is made to report of Special Agent Richard C. Sonnichsen, dated and captioned as above, at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2/1/68

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (100-10580) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C
(OO: New York)

Re Portland letter to Bureau, 11/1/67.

Since referenced letter, no information has been developed indicating communist influence in racial matters in Oregon. Three Negro informants who are in a position to be well informed concerning the Communist Party continue to confirm the lack of such influence. In view of this, no quarterly report will be submitted.

2-Bureau (AM) (RM)
1-New York (Info) (RM)
1-Portland

LEF:dlf
(4)

cc
806
94D

REC 48

EX-103

100-442529-2486

15 FEB 5 1968

D. [Signature]

G. [Signature]
INVEST. SECT.

F64



5 FEB 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1-31-68

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (100-10310) -P*-

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Richmond letter 8-1-67

This Division has not received any information during the quarter ending 1-31-68 to indicate ~~Communist~~ influence in racial matters here. The activities of the Communist Party in Virginia are almost nil.

REC-59

EX-105

100-442529-2487

1 FEB 5 1968

2 Bureau (RM)
1- New York (100-153735) (RM)
1 -Richmond

REB/reb
(4)

66 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2/2/68

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10028) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

(OO:NY)

OCIRM

Re Charlotte letter to Bureau 11/1/67.

Period: 11/1/67 - 1/31/68.

No information has been received during this period reflecting that any individuals with subversive backgrounds have participated in racial activities in North Carolina.

Accordingly, no report is being submitted.

- 11-806940
- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
 - 1 - Charlotte

GHC:jho
(4)

REC 5 EX-111

100-442529-2488

FEB 6 1968

FEB 6 1968

[Signature]
RACIAL INT. SECT.



143
6 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2-5-68

FROM : SAC, OKLAHOMA CITY (100-7212) -P*-
Lot

SUBJECT: CIRM
Y

*FD305 PR 2-1-68
Comm. sub 2-7-68
158*

ReBulet to Albany 8-28-64, and Oklahoma City
letter to Director 11-2-67.

No information pertaining to captioned matter
has been developed by this office during the past three
months.

AM

EX-102

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - Oklahoma City
- JAG:TK
- (4)

*100-442529-2489
806
94D*

REC-34 100-442529 2489

22 FEB 7 1968

D. [Signature]

RACIAL INT. SECT.

613
6 FEB 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REPORTING OFFICE PHILADELPHIA	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/5/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/1/67 - 1/24/68
TITLE OF CASE O CIRM Lwp		REPORT MADE BY CHARLES J. WYLAND	TYPED BY mm
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

Report of SA CHARLES J. WYLAND, dated 10/31/67,
at Philadelphia.

P*

NEW YORK (INFORMATION):

One copy of this report is being designated for New York pursuant to Bureau instructions.

PHILADELPHIA :

AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Will follow and report activities in this matter.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS: NONE

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

**SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE**

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - New York (100-153735) (info) (RM)
2 - Philadelphia (100-47672)

COPIES DESTROYED

~~33 DEC 30 1970~~

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency

Request Recd.

Date Fwd.

How $\frac{1}{2}$ Fwd.

By

100-442529 2490 REC-44

15 FEB 8/ 1968

EX 106

~~51 FEB 26 1968~~

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ since the data reported from PH T-1, if revealed, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

All persons identified as members of the Communist Party are listed in the Security Index or are informants or sources.

INFORMANT

PH T-1



b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

- 1 - OSI, Philadelphia (RM)
- 1 - NISO, Philadelphia (RM)
- 1 - MI, Philadelphia (RM)

Report of: CHARLES J. WYLAND
Date: FEBRUARY 5, 1968

Office: Philadelphia, Pa.

Field Office File #: 100-47672

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: THIS REPORT COVERS THE PERIOD 10/1 THROUGH 12/31/67.

At meeting of District Board, CPEPD, in 10/67, [REDACTED] District Organization Secretary, stated the CP should recruit members from the working class, the Negro, and young people. At the emergency meeting of the District Board, CPEPD, on 11/20/67, held for the purpose of determining what action should be taken concerning the racial tension existing between "black students" and the Board of Education, it was agreed the CP should support "black students," and they called for dismissal of Commissioner of Police FRANK RIZZO. At educational class for District CP leaders, it was stated the CP played no role in the Negro community in Philadelphia. MARTIN LUTHER KING was in Philadelphia in 10/67.

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-P*-

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
(CPUSA)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PH 100-47672

B. PLANS, STRATEGY, PARTY LINE AND
THE LIKE MADE AT DISTRICT AND LOWER
LEVEL MEETINGS, INCLUDING EXPRESSIONS
BY LOCAL LEADERS AND RANK AND FILE
MEMBERS

On 10/30/67 Confidential Informant T-1 advised that at a meeting of the District Board, Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), held on October 19, 1967, at 3237 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] District Organization Secretary, stated the CPUSA has proposed that 1000 new recruits be obtained nationally between December 1, 1967 and June 1968. The main emphasis in recruiting should be concentrated on the working class, the Negroes, and young people. A goal of 30 was set for the CPEPD.

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On November 28, 1967, T-1 advised an emergency meeting of the District Board was held on November 20, 1967, at 170 Manheim Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This meeting was called for the purpose of discussing what action the CPEPD should take in relation to the tense racial situation existing between "black students" and the Board of Education, as well as the alleged police brutality. It was agreed the CPEPD would support the "black students" and called for the dismissal of Commissioner of Police FRANK RIZZO. However, the CPEPD would not support all the demands of the "black students" until more was learned about them. The issue of teaching Negro history in all schools by Negro teachers was accepted together with the attack on Commissioner RIZZO and the issue of police brutality.

On November 2, 1967, Detective LUKE FARRELL, Civil Disobedience Unit, Philadelphia Police Department, advised the students at Bok Vocational School had, on that date, staged a walkout from classes. The students demanded that the school use more Negro teachers and that two additional subjects, Negro Culture and Negro History, be added to the courses at the school. The meeting of the students and the faculty lasted about one hour and was orderly. After the meeting, all students returned to their classes.

On Page 4 of a December 3, 1967 issue of "The Worker," an East-Coast communist publication, there appeared an article entitled, "Fire Philadelphia Police Chief, CP Urges." According to this article, the CP of Eastern Pennsylvania called for the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PH 100-47672

dismissal of Police Commissioner FRANK RIZZO and for criminal prosecution of policemen implicated in the unprovoked violence unleashed on November 17th against Negro high school students demonstrating at the Board of Education. This article further reflects that conditions in Philadelphia ghetto schools have been intolerable. Moreover, in a school district where over 50 per cent of the students are black, only three of the nine members of the Board of Education are Negro. Last Friday's demonstration by over 5,000 high school students was a justified expression of their resolve to change these intolerable conditions. The militancy, self-discipline, and organization of these young people is an inspiring example of the growing determination of the entire Negro community to win full equality now.

On December 11, 1967, T-1 advised an educational class for the leaders of the CPEPD was held on December 3, 1967, at 5756 Camac Street, Philadelphia. The topic of this class concerned the Negro. [redacted] a member of the District Board, CPEPD, stated the situation in Philadelphia is no different than anywhere else. There are about 600,000 Negroes in Philadelphia and the Federal and State Governments were the largest employers of the Negroes. 43 per cent of the local postal employees were Negroes, but yet less than one per cent were in supervisory positions. There was no unified civil rights group in the City of Philadelphia. [redacted] further stated the CP had played no role in the Negro community in the Philadelphia area. This was caused by white chauvinism and the lack of Negro forces in the Party. She further indicated there were about 12 Negro members in the CPEPD.

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II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

A. APPEARANCE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING IN PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 1967

On October 11, 1967, Captain ROBERT WOLFINGER, Intelligence Unit, Philadelphia Police Department, advised that MARTIN LUTHER KING arrived in Philadelphia on Friday, October 13, 1967, for the purpose of attending a cocktail party at the Sheraton Hotel which would serve as a "kickoff" for the variety show which was scheduled to be held at the Spectrum in Philadelphia on October 26, 1967, which was being held to raise funds for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Captain WOLFINGER

PENN.

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PH 100-47672

further advised KING would return to Philadelphia on October 26, 1967, when he would speak at St. Joseph's College on that afternoon and would thereafter appear at the variety show at the Spectrum.

On Page 1 of the October 14, 1967 issue of "The Philadelphia Inquirer", a local newspaper in Philadelphia, there appeared an article entitled "U.S. - Wide Job Drive to Include Negroes Here, Dr. KING Asserts." According to this article, MARTIN LUTHER KING appeared in Philadelphia on October 13, 1967 for the purpose of promoting the variety show on October 26, 1967, and at a press conference stated a nationwide plan to pry open more jobs for Negroes would be put into effect in about six weeks. This drive would be directed on area industries and chain stores.

On October 26, 1967, Captain WOLFINGER advised that MARTIN LUTHER KING arrived in Philadelphia on that morning and his itinerary included a press conference, a speech at the Barrett Junior High School, 10th and Wharton Streets, followed by a speech at St. Joseph's College, and then his appearance at the Spectrum in South Philadelphia.

On Page 56, of the October 26, 1967 issue of "The Evening Bulletin," a local Philadelphia newspaper, there appeared an article entitled "KING Urges Non-Violent Militance." This article reflects KING addressed a 1,300-member student body at Barrett Junior High School and stated it was the responsibility of the students to make life better for everybody and encouraged them not to lose their self-respect. He advised them to continue in school and to achieve excellence in whatever they did. He claimed the student must have a deep belief in his personal dignity and not to let anybody make them feel they were a nobody. KING deplored violence.

The October 27, 1967 issue of "The Evening Bulletin" reflects that MARTIN LUTHER KING appeared before more than 3,000 students at St. Joseph's College on October 26, 1967, and warned there would be continued unrest and bitterness in Negro ghettos unless massive action programs to relieve tensions and eliminate the biggest depressions the Negroes have ever faced are begun.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PH 100-47672

KING was critical of the Negro rioters throughout the nation. The white backlash of resentment against the Negroes will fail because no lie can live forever.

This article further reflects that KING appeared at the benefit show for his organization held that same evening at the Spectrum, and he commented on his forthcoming surrender to begin serving a five-day jail term in Birmingham, Alabama, for violating a court order forbidding his participation in a 1963 civil rights rally. The benefit show attracted more than 11,000 people and was the 6th in a series of seven benefit shows for the SCLC held throughout the country.

On October 30, 1967, Captain WOLFINGER advised MARTIN LUTHER KING departed Philadelphia on October 27, 1967.

C. DCA DEMONSTRATION SUPPORTING
[REDACTED]

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On November 21, 1967, Officer JAMES MC GOVERN, Civil Disobedience Unit, Philadelphia Police Department, advised a demonstration was held that date at the Philadelphia Police Department Administration Building from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. This demonstration was held in support of the people in Philadelphia who desire the dismissal of Police Commissioner FRANK RIZZO. These people claim that RIZZO and the Philadelphia Police Department used unnecessary force in maintaining order during the demonstration of 3500 predominantly Negro high school students who congregated around the Philadelphia Board of Education Building on November 17, 1967.

On November 28, 1967, T-1 advised that only three members of the CPEFD participated in the demonstration at the Police Administration Building on November 21, 1967.

A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

-58-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that [redacted] CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

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A third source advised in September, 1967, that [redacted] was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

b6
b7C

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that [redacted] is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

-6*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-47672

February 5, 1968

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA CHARLES J. WYLAND, dated and captioned as above, at Philadelphia, Pa.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: January 30, 1968

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-86)
 FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12125)
 SUBJECT: CP, USA
 PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS
 IS - C

Re SAC Letter 67-48 dated 8/8/67, which requested all offices to remain alert to plans of the CP, USA for establishing a daily newspaper in the United States.

Enclosed for the Bureau with this airtel are 12 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned, "Conference for a New Marxist Daily Newspaper, 1/28/68, Hotel Sheraton-Atlantic, 34th Street and 6th Avenue, New York, New York."

Copies of the LHM are being forwarded with this airtel to New York.

The following informants attended the affair:



- 5 - Bureau (12 Encs.) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 (1 - 100-3-69 - Organization)
 (1 - 100-CIRM)
 4 - New York (Encs. 4) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 (2 - 100-Pamphlets and Publications)
 (1 - 100-Organization)
 (1 - 100 - CIRM)
 3 - Baltimore (1 - 100-12464 - Organization)

RCN:kss
 (12)

100-442529-
 NOT RECORDED

150 FEB 16 1968

CARBON COPY

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79 FEB 26 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-86-3197

BA 100-12125

For the sake of security, the information obtained from the informants is being attributed to [redacted] All of the informants furnished substantially the same information with regard as to what went on at the conference.

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[redacted] furnished the information concerning the private conversation with DANNY RUBIN.

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" since disclosure of information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of a ~~confidential~~ source of great value and compromise his future effectiveness.

The LHM is being shown as having emanated from Washington, D. C. in order to further protect the informant.

Detailed informant reports will be disseminated to all interested offices.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

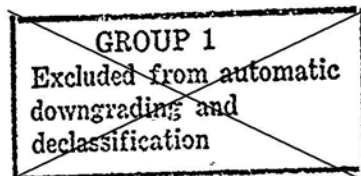
Washington, D. C.

January 30, 1968

Re: CONFERENCE FOR A NEW MARXIST DAILY
NEWSPAPER, 1/28/68,
HOTEL SHERATON-ATLANTIC
34TH STREET AND 6TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

A confidential source on January 29, 1968, furnished a copy of the following letter which was mailed out on January 19, 1968, from Communist Party (CP) Headquarters in New York to members of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ENCLOSURE

100-442529-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LONG VIEW PUBLISHING CO., INC.

299 BROADWAY
ROOM 1205
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007
TELEPHONE: 732-9396

January 5, 1968

: CONFERENCE FOR A NEW MARXIST DAILY NEWSPAPER - SUNDAY, JAN. 28, 1968 :
: HOTEL SHERATON-ATLANTIC, COLONIAL ROOM - 34th St. & 6th Av., N.Y.C.:

Dear Friend:

As you may already know, a movement for the launching of a Marxist daily newspaper is under way. The Long View Publishing Co., Inc. is the corporate entity of the project.

The need for such a daily publication, one that can swiftly cover and analyze the news, fusing a Marxist viewpoint with modern journalistic know-how, has long been felt on the Left. This feeling is particularly keen in these days of tumultuous movements, above all the mounting struggle for peace and black liberation.

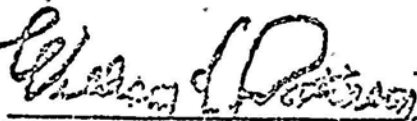
It is clear that we are entering a critical period in our nation's history. Nation-wide opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam; the widening battle for Negro freedom and dignity; the unprecedented resistance of the youth to the draft; the increasing militancy of labor in the fight against inflation; -- these are emerging as the central elements of the 1968 political year -- and beyond.

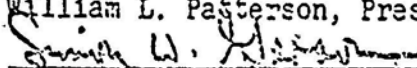
It is exactly at this time that new tasks and new opportunities lie before the Left. It is our judgment that the occasion calls for a Marxist daily newspaper, one that will generally reflect Communist views while recognizing a special responsibility to the entire Left.

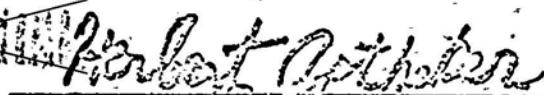
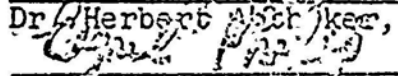
Such a newspaper can have a strong appeal not only to thousands of American workers with a Socialist viewpoint but also to thousands of other activists in the great current movements. Not least, it can have a deep appeal to many young people who are seeking a scientific outlook. A Marxist daily, with its systematic critique of capitalism and systematic explanation of socialism, can help not only the fighting youth but be an invaluable aid in uniting the entire Left.

To discuss the above and to help advance such a project, we have called a working conference for Sunday, January 28, 1968, at 1 P.M., at the Colonial Room of the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and 6th Avenue, New York. If you wish to attend, please fill out the enclosed form and forward to

Long View Publishing Co.
299 Broadway Room 1205
New York, N.Y. 10007


William L. Patterson, President


Simon W. Gerson, Exec. Vice-Pres.


Dr. Herbert A. Becker, Secretary

Cyril Philip, Treasurer

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: CONFERENCE FOR A NEW MARXIST DAILY NEWSPAPER
1/28/68, HOTEL SHERATON-ATLANTIC
34TH STREET AND 6TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

The source knows WILLIAM PATTERSON, SIMON GERSON and HERBERT APTHEKER, whose names are set forth in above letter, to be National Leaders of the CP, USA.

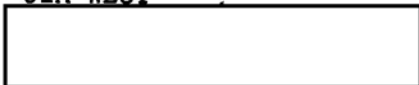
The source further advised that on January 28, 1968, a Conference for a New Marxist Daily Newspaper was held on January 28, 1968, in the Colonial Room of the Hotel Sheraton-Atlantic, 34th Street and 6th Avenue, New York, New York.

Prior to the conference which got underway at about 12:30 p.m., DANNY RUBIN, who is known to the source as the head of the National Organization Commission of the CP, USA, held a private conversation with several persons known to the source as CP members. RUBIN advised that the CP, USA would not obviously dominate the conference and would try to give the impression that it was a gathering of progressive individuals interested in the formation of a daily newspaper of liberal tendencies.

The conference was called to order by WILLIAM PATTERSON, supra, who acted as Chairman. Seated on the rostrum with PATTERSON was LINCOLN LYNCH, Associate Director of the Congress of Racial Equality. Also on the rostrum were SI GERSON and HERB APTHEKER.

There were approximately 200 persons in the audience. The following were identified by the source as being current members of the CP, USA:

HELEN WINTER
CARL WINTER
ARNOLD JOHNSON
IRVING POTASH
JIM WEST



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: CONFERENCE FOR A NEW MARXIST DAILY NEWSPAPER
1/28/68, HOTEL SHERATON-ATLANTIC
34th STREET AND 6TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

[REDACTED]
DANNY RUBIN
JOE NORTH

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[REDACTED]
JANE HODES
OAKLEY JOHNSON and Wife
LEONA TRANQUILLI

WILLIAM PATTERSON talked at length about the need for a Marxist Daily Newspaper which would speak for everyone in the United States who had a liberal viewpoint. He pointed out that many young people were not being properly guided as to the role the United States should play in the world. He stressed the need of a newspaper to speak for the poverty-stricken minority groups. He talked of the need for a newspaper that would speak out for world-wide peace. He stated that a Marxist newspaper would take a scientific approach to world-wide problems.

After PATTERSON finished speaking, SI GERSON after stressing the need for a Marxist paper in much the same terms used by PATTERSON, said that a half million dollars was needed to launch the new publication and that 25% of the amount had already been raised.

Various individuals in the audience then spoke in turn. They indicated that they were from different parts of the United States. All were in agreement that there was a need for a Marxist newspaper. A number of those who spoke made it plain that they did not agree with all that the CP, USA stood for. One of the persons who spoke was LINCOLN LYNCH. He indicated he was in favor of a progressive newspaper which would speak for the Negro.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: CONFERENCE FOR A NEW MARXIST DAILY NEWSPAPER
1/28/68, HOTEL SHERATON-ATLANTIC
34th STREET AND 6TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

At the end of the meeting, which was about 5:30 p.m., it was announced that about \$5,000.00 had either been contributed or pledged for the New Daily Marxist Paper.

The source further advised on January 30, 1968, that the day following the above conference, the members of the National Committee of the CP, USA received letters from CP Headquarters in New York, which indicated that the Editorial Board of the New Daily Marxist Newspaper would consist of longtime CP National Leaders.

"THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT
AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED
OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

January 30, 1968

Title	CONFERENCE FOR A NEW MARXIST DAILY NEWSPAPER, 1/28/68, HOTEL SHERATON-ATLANTIC 34TH STREET AND 6TH AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK
Character	
Reference	Communication dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CINCINNATI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/5/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/16/67 - 1/15/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA THOMAS P. SCOLLARD	TYPED BY mld
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA J. WILLIAM LOVE, dated 8/8/67,
at Cincinnati, Ohio;
Cincinnati letter to Bureau, 11/1/67.

- P* -

LEADS:CLEVELAND (INFO)

One copy furnished Cleveland for information since
individuals operating in the Cincinnati Division territory may

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED none						ACQUIT-
Convic.	Auto.	Fug.	Fines	Savings	Recoveries	TALS

Case has been: Pending over one year ☒ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - c/o Commanding Officer, 109th MI Group, Columbus, Ohio (RM) 1 - OSI, WPAFB, Ohio (RM) 1 - NISO, Philadelphia, Pa. (RM) 1 - Cleveland (100-127056) (info) (RM) 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 2 - Cincinnati (100-14539)		100-442529-2491 3 FEB 8 1968 REC 18 EX-113 100-442529-2491 REC 18 EX-113 100-442529-2491 REC 18 EX-113	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	ACSTOST, CSTDTU, CRD, TST	<i>[Handwritten notes and stamps]</i> 100-442529-2491 REC 18 EX-113 100-442529-2491 REC 18 EX-113	
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	2/23/68		
How Fwd.	51 FEB 26 1968		
By	<i>[Signature]</i>		

CI 100-14539

be of interest to that office.

CINCINNATI

Will follow and report Communist activities in the Cincinnati Division area as they pertain to racial matters.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Details of racial disturbance at Columbus, Ohio, appearing in the details of this report were reported by airtel and LHM captioned, "RACIAL DISTURBANCE, COLUMBUS, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 20, 1967", dated 10/3/67. This report contains a summary of the information as it pertains to Communist activity in the disturbance.

Dissemination of the original LHM was made to all interested office and no additional dissemination being made of this report.

Agents who interviewed [redacted] on January 26, 1966, and [redacted] on the same date were Special Agents HUGH THOMAS FORSHA and FRANCIS X. FUST.

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Agents who made observations of the racial disturbance at Columbus, Ohio, were Special Agents HUGH THOMAS FORSHA and FRANCIS X. FUST.

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information in the appendix pages from sources which could possibly result in their being identified. They are sources of continuing value and their identification would compromise their future effectiveness.

[redacted] and [redacted] mentioned in this report, are included on the Security Index of the Cincinnati Office.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - c/o Commanding Officer, 109th MI Group,
Columbus, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio (RM)
1 - NICO, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM).

Report of: SA THOMAS P. SCOLLARD Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 2/5/68

Field Office File #: CI 100-14539

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Synopsis: No information developed concerning Communist strategy in racial matters in Cincinnati Division territory. A racial disturbance occurred at Columbus, Ohio, September 20, 1967, resulting in the arrest of 23 persons by officers of the Columbus, Ohio Police Department. [REDACTED] self-admitted member of Spartacist and [REDACTED] self-admitted member of the Workers World Party shown to have been involved in this disturbance.

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DETAILS:

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

~~GROUP I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information has been developed in the Cincinnati Division territory concerning Communist strategy in racial matters.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

RACIAL DISTURBANCE
COLUMBUS, OHIO
SEPTEMBER 20, 1967

The following information was obtained September 20-21, 1967, from observation by Special Agents of the FBI, close liaison with Columbus, Ohio Police Department officials and personnel, and Columbus, Ohio City Officials.

A racial disturbance occurred at Columbus, Ohio, between 10:45 P.M., September 20, 1967, and 3:15 A.M., September 21, 1967. A total of twenty three persons were arrested by officers of the Columbus Police Department, which individuals were considered to be directly or indirectly connected with the disturbance.

On the evening of September 19, 1967, several individuals allegedly representing Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) appeared on Mt. Vernon Avenue, Columbus, and expressed intentions of picketing business locations at 966 and 971 Mt. Vernon Avenue. Sergeant RICHARD A. SHAW, Intelligence Unit, Columbus, Ohio Police Department, advised on September 20, 1967, that one of these pickets was identified as [redacted] [redacted] formerly of Columbus, Ohio. SHAW advised that [redacted] identifying himself as a National Field Secretary for CORE, arrived in Columbus, Ohio, on or about September 19, 1967, saying he had just come in from New York. According to SHAW, [redacted] indicated he wanted to set up a CORE - Black Power Headquarters on Mt. Vernon Avenue. [redacted] alleged that the owner of the property, MARVIN BONOWITZ, white, did not want such a headquarters in the community and rented the store building to another group instead. [redacted] reportedly stated that the issue about renting the space was of no important consequences since the main thing would be to "run the honky out of business", meaning BONOWITZ who also owned the Vernon Tailoring Company across the street at 966 Mt. Vernon Avenue.

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[redacted]
On January 26, 1966, [redacted]
[redacted] voluntarily advised Special Agents of the FBI that he was a member of Spartacist in Columbus, Ohio, and he was aware of the aims of that organization which was working toward a classless society in the United States

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A characterization of the Spartacist League, formerly known as the Revolutionary Committee of the 4th International, is contained in the attached appendix.

At five P.M. on September 20, 1967, four pickets appeared at 966 Mt. Vernon Avenue; one woman and three males, all Negro, who carried signs identifying themselves as members of CORE. According to Sergeant SHAW one of these individuals was identified as [redacted]

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[redacted]
On January 26, 1966, [redacted] voluntarily advised Special Agents of the FBI that he was a member of the Workers World Party.

A characterization of the Workers World Party appears in the attached appendix.

Sergeant SHAW advised that as of five P.M., September 20, 1967, the four pickets, including the one identified as [redacted] did not appear to be getting any sympathy or support from other people in the area. The pickets had announced through [redacted] that they would continue to picket throughout the following day. As of approximately 7:30 P.M., about three hundred people congregated in the area, spilling over from the sidewalk into the street. In this confusion a window in the storm door of the Vernon Tailoring Company was broken in addition to a window in the store across the street at 971 Mt. Vernon. Police officers attempted to disperse the crowd unsuccessfully. A short while later a platoon of police officers in riot gear proceeded to Mt. Vernon Avenue and cleared the street for traffic. The incident appeared to be

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under control until approximately 10:30 P.M. when several small fires started in the street which were extinguished and no property damage resulted.

At approximately 9:30 P.M., on September 20, 1967, [] Administrative Assistant to the Governor, advised that responsible Command Officers of the Ohio National Guard had been called to duty at Ft. Hayes in Columbus for the purpose of alerting troops if needed.

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At 10:40 P.M. reports were being received from the Mt. Vernon Avenue sector that looting and bottle throwing was occurring. There were also reports of small fires and window breaking in the area.

At midnight, September 20, 1967, a press conference was announced by Columbus Mayor M. E. SENSENBRENNER and Safety Director FRED SIMON. The conference was held at the Columbus Police Department. Mayor SENSENBRENNER announced to reporters that neither he nor SIMON would classify the incident of that night as race riot or civil disturbance, but preferred to describe the event as an act of criminal lawlessness by participants numbering not more than forty individuals. Both attributed difficulty to the fact that nearly 3,000 spectators who were reluctant to disperse hampered the identification and apprehension of most of the real criminals. SIMON said he holds the CORE group which had picketed in the area of 966 Mt. Vernon Avenue earlier in the evening as responsible for the incident which followed.

Also, on September 21, 1967, Sergeant SHAW advised that [] and two associates appeared at the Columbus City Jail and asked to speak to four of the persons arrested the previous evening. Two of the individuals had already been released on bail. Permission was granted to [] and his associates to speak with the other two prisoners if SHAW was present. SHAW stated that [] prompted both prisoners during interview to elaborate upon details of their arrests to support charges of police brutality. SHAW stated that [] announced in an arrogant and boastful manner, saying that "they" would organize to raise all bond money needed and that "they" would end police brutality once and for all.

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At a press conference in the East Side Branch, YMCA, on September 22, 1967, [] identified as Mid West Field Secretary of CORE, and as a New Left Black Power advocate, pledged to end picketing in the near East Side

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CI 100-14539

where the disturbance took place. [] said the issue had been resumed; that is, to obtain a headquarters on Mt. Vernon Avenue. Accompanying [] at the press conference were [] and two other individuals.

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III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND
INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No additional information developed concerning Communist penetration and influence in racial and other organizations in the Cincinnati Division area.

A P P E N D I X

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL) Formerly Known as the REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 9, 1964, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. The source described the RCFI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who were led by James Robertson.

A second source advised on March 4, 1964, that Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, sent a letter to all SWP branches in February, 1964, in which he advised that James Robertson announced on February 10, 1964, that his faction would publicly criticize the SWP and had followed this with a public organ called "Spartacist" in which they attacked the SWP.

A third source advised on September 7, 1966, that the RCFI held a Founders' Conference of the Spartacist League (SL) at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3-5, 1966. On September 4, 1966, it was stated that the objective of the SL was to destroy the capitalist system and the capitalist society and create a workers' class system and a workers' class society.

The May-June, 1967, issue of "Spartacist" discloses it is published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A P P E N D I X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

On April 17, 1959, a source advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group, under the leadership of National Committee member, Sam Ballan, split from the SWP.

The source stated this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of Leon Trotsky and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery - individuals characterized by the minority as petty-bourgeois.

The minority program, according to the source, advocated unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the World.

On May 12, 1960, the source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 1, 1967, a second source advised that the Workers World Party, which maintains headquarters at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York, supports the People's Republic of China in its ideological dispute with the Soviet Union.

The SWP and the CP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
February 5, 1968

Title

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

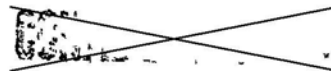
Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Reference

Report of Special Agent THOMAS P.
SCOLLARD, dated and captioned as
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MIAMI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/7/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/1/67 - 1/31/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY RAYMOND L. O'KELLY	TYPED BY jkj
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA RAYMOND L. O'KELLY, Miami, dated 11/2/67.

- P* -

- LEADS -

MIAMI:

AT MIAMI, FLORIDA

Will continue to follow and report CIRM activities in the Miami area.

- ADMINISTRATIVE -

Indexing

In this report, [] and [] are not on the Security Index or informants or sources.

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Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: ⑨ - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - NISO, 6th ND, Charleston, S.C. (RM) 1 - 111th M.I. Group, Orlando, Fla. (RM) 1 - OSI, Robins AFB, Ga. (RM) 1 - Atlanta (100-5718) (SCLC) (Info) (RM) 1 - New York (Info) (100-153735) (RM) 2 - Miami (100-15058)		100- 442529 2492	REC 29 ST-108
		22 FEB 9 1968	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	ACSI, CMI, OSI, SEC. SER.	
Request Recd.	ISD, CRD, RAO	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 2/2/68	
By	BY: [Signature]	
COPIES DESTROYED		

333DEC 30 1970

1cc up. 80694D

RACIAL INT. SECT.
INT. SECT.

MM 100-15058

Copies of this report are being disseminated to appropriate military intelligence agencies pursuant to Bureau instructions.

One copy furnished to Atlanta Office in view of SCLC information contained therein.

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" as MM T-1 and MM T-2 are informants of continuing value, whose disclosure would have an adverse effect on the national defense interests.

[redacted] and the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam cannot be subversively characterized at this time.

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- INFORMANTS -

Identity	Location
MM T-1 is [redacted]	
MM T-2 is [redacted]	(SCLC activities) [redacted]

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- COVER PAGE -

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - NISO, 6th ND, Charleston, S.C. (RM)
1 - 111th M.I. Group, Orlando, Florida (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins AFB, Ga. (RM)

Report of: RAYMOND L. O'KELLY
Date: 2/7/68

Office: Miami, Florida

Field Office File #: 100-15058

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Informant advised Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), National Office held conference in mid-October, 1967, on "Negro Liberation Struggle" and issued report reflecting that CP, USA has always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. Therefore, there can be no question of the right of black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change. Proposed CP, USA activities within the black communities include Marxist training schools and more full-time black organizers. Meetings of Miami Chapter of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) attended by members of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, which organization is headed by [REDACTED] a former CP member.

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DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and declassification~~

In mid-October, 1967, the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), held a conference on Strategy and Tactics in the New Stage of the Negro Liberation Struggle. The CP, USA then issued a report on this conference, which was shown as emanating from the panel on Techniques and Methods of Struggle. This report contains the following paragraph:

"On the question of the use of violence in the ghetto, we as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is also affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore, there can be no question of the right of the black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change. Our estimation of when violent means are called for is determined by time, place and circumstances and our position at any given moment strives to reflect the concrete situation and conditions which prevail at that moment."

This report also reflects that it was decided that in order to strengthen the influence of Marxist ideas in the movement, it is necessary to develop "Left forms" for education and action within the black community. In this development of forms, the intent is to bring the ideological and organizational influence of the CP to bear upon the mass movement, to project issues and initiate struggle not presently being conducted and to recruit more advanced active militants into the CP.

The forms which were proposed included the following:

(1) The calling together of existing organizations in the black community in some form of council or congress so that they can exercise a greater collective influence upon the community as a whole by agreeing upon joint struggle around those issues on which they agree. Examples given

were consumer and school boycotts and other forms of boycott. In addition, work stoppages around basic issues of protest should be considered.

(2) The issuance of a discussion bulletin to discuss ideological differences within the black people's movement to be put out by the CP, USA Negro Commission.

(3) The promotion of cultural centers and book stores in the ghetto.

(4) Providing Marxist training schools for the specific training of CP black cadre.

(5) The development of more full-time black organizers for the Party at all levels, including women.

(6) The assignment of regional coordinators full-time to help strengthen the work of the Party in the black and minority community at regional levels.

(7) The planning of regional seminars of black comrades working in the community, schools and factories.

(8) Training them in how to write and in public speaking, public debating and organizing.

(9) A special budget to be set aside for work in the black community.

(10) Support and help to build local and regional conferences of black youths to culminate in a National Youth Congress. This has been referred to the CP, USA Youth Commission.

(11) Exploring the possibility of supporting summer camp movement for the family, young adult and teenagers.

MM T-1
12/4/67

MM 100-15058

The Miami CP has taken no organizational interest in the Negro problem, primarily because its interest, at the present time, is directed toward Party work in the Jewish mass movement and resolving the differing views within the CP as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Any activity in the racial field by its members will be done on an individual basis and not as part of organized CP activity.

MM T-1
1/15/68

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No additional information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The Miami Chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) meets in an office at 534 Northwest 2nd Avenue, Miami. It pays \$50.00 a month rent and is usually behind in its rental payments. [redacted] F/A b6 b7C is the Chairman and the only regular official of the chapter. Meetings are usually attended by less than ten individuals, many of these attending are members of a group called Veterans for Peace in Vietnam.

F/A [redacted] who has attended SCLC meetings, is the head of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam. [redacted] has stated that he is not a real pacifist and that he did believe in fighting if the United States was attacked. However, he is against United States participation in the war in Vietnam.

MM T-2
11/3/67 - 1/5/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MM 100-15058

In 1952-1953, [] a self
admitted CP member, advised that []
[] was an ardent CP member.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
February 7, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-15058

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference report of SA RAYMOND L. O'KELLY,
dated and captioned, as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 2/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048).

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS
(OO: CHICAGO)

Enclosed are 8 copies of a LHM setting out information re a CP USA Secretariat, 1/25/68, on the SDS. Complete dissemination will be made by separate memorandum.

Sources in order of their utilization are

This LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" because it contains information from the above sources, the disclosure of whom would be detrimental to the defense interests of the US.

- 6- Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
 (1- 100-437041) (PLP)
 (1- 100-3-767) (CP USA YOUTH MATTERS)
 (1- 100-) (CIRM)
 2- Chicago (100-40903) (Encls. 2) (RM)
 2- Indianapolis (100-14603) (Encls. 2) (RM)
 5- New York
 (100-80644) (CP USA YOUTH MATTERS)
 (1- 100-153735) (CIRM)
 (1- 100-147372) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR)
 (1- 100-80641) (CP USA ORGANIZATION)
 (1- 100-148047)

100-442529-

NOT RECORDED
165 FEB 12 1968

TJD:ptp
(17)

ENCLOSURE

FEB 16 1968

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439048-34-225

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.New York, New York
February 2, 1968Re: Students For A Democratic Society (SDS)
Internal Security - SDS

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 31, 1968, that a meeting of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) Secretariat, with invited guests, was held January 25, 1968, at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

The main topic on the agenda was a discussion of the organization of the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS) and the CP, USA attitude toward the SDS.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the Appendix.

According to the source, [REDACTED] reported on a recent convention of the SDS, held during Christmas vacation, 1967, in Bloomington, Indiana. [REDACTED] was the principal CP strategist at the Convention and worked in close cooperation with [REDACTED] who was representing the CP National Office. Of the approximately 150 delegates, 15 were CP members.

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A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 7, 1966, that [REDACTED] as a member, attended on October 2, 1966, a meeting of the District Committee of the CP, USA, New England District.

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b7C~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER
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OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
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YOUR AGENCY.

100-442529-
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Students For A Democratic Society (SDS)

A third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 9, 1967, that [redacted] is a member of the Kings County CP Committee.

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According to the first source, the following, in part, represents items of [redacted] report: The size of the SDS was stated as being 3,000 card carrying national members and it is estimated there are six non-dues paying members for every dues paying member.

In 1965, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and its Youth Movement, May 2nd Movement, concentrated its youth program totally on the SDS. The PLP had considerable success and one result of its work has been the movement of a large part of SDS toward a Maoist orientated Marxist - Leninist approach. This represents a marked shift from the "anarchist" outlook, the "hippie" tendency, which had previously dominated the SDS. According to the source, [redacted] estimated that approximately 1/3 of the delegates at the SDS were PLP members or PLP influenced.

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A characterization of the PLP is attached.

The first source advised that the SDS convention, by a 2-1 vote, rejected a PLP backed program of agitation on campuses aimed at exposing universities as tools of imperialism. It also rejected the CP - W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) plan of "student strikes". A program was approved favoring demonstrations in April, 1968, employing disruptive demonstrations at draft centers and harassment of military and police personnel. In addition, SDS will play a major role in planned disruptions of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois.

A characterization of DCA is attached.

According to the first source, during the meeting of the Secretariat of the CP, USA, Gus Hall and other speakers stressed the need for a fight for CP ideology and called for articles in CP publications on SDS and for journalistic contributions to SDS publications, such as, "New Left Notes".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Students For A Democratic Society (SDS)

Gus Hall also said "we must begin to put many more cadre directly into SDS" and called for CP youth to be moved directly into the SDS National Office in Chicago to give the CP a pipeline into SDS leadership. This portion of the meeting closed with [redacted] underlining the need and the possibility for greater Communist participation in the SDS and stressed the possibilities of recruitment from SDS if the CP effort is intensified. b6 b7c

A fourth confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on January 29, 1968, that Gus Hall is the General Secretary, of the CP, USA.

- 3 -

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark", a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX

1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that [redacted] CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, GUS HALL, CPUSA, General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

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A third source advised in September, 1967, that [redacted] was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

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A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that [redacted] is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth confidential source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE JACKSON	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/8/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/1/67 - 1/31/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS (CIRM)		REPORT MADE BY SA THOMAS FITZ PATRICK	TYPED BY mif
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCES:

Jackson report of SA THOMAS FITZ PATRICK 11/6/67.

-P-

LEADS:JACKSON

AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. Will continue to follow and report any Communist influence in racial matters in the State of Mississippi.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
APPROVED <i>RKM</i>						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES MADE:						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW.	
⑨ - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - NISO-CHASN (RM) 1 - OSI, Barksdale AFB, La. (RM) 2 - MIGp, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM) 1 - New York (100-153735) (Info) (RM) 2 - Jackson (100-57) COPIES DESTROYED						100-442529-2493 1 FEB 12 1968 REC-44 EX-113	
333 DEC 30 1970							
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations	
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC, SER, S, I, E						
Request Recd.	DEST: ISD, CRD, RAO						
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 2/22/68						
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: 62 FEB 28 1968						
By	BY: [Signature]						

156 up 806940

JN 100-57

INFORMANTS:

T SYMBOL

IDENTITY

LOCATION

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JN 100-396-44

JN 100-396-39

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COVER PAGE

JN 100-57

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Copies of this report are designated to appropriate intelligence agencies in compliance with Bureau instructions in this matter.

One copy of this report is furnished to New York as New York is office of origin in this matter.

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~ ~~No Foreign Dissemination~~" to protect identity of JN T-12, it being noted that original communication containing information from this source was so classified; additionally, ~~confidential~~ classification is warranted to protect other sources utilized in the details of the report who are sources of continuing value and whose identification could compromise their future effectiveness.

C*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

Copy to: 1 - NISO, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - OSI, Barksdale Air Force Base, La. (RM)
2 - MIGp, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA THOMAS FITZ PATRICK Office: Jackson
Date: 2/8/68

Field Office File #: 100-57 Bureau File #: 100-442529

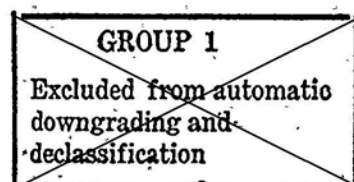
Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS (CIRM)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNISM

Synopsis:

No information developed of Communist strategy and tactics. Information from confidential sources regarding the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and individuals associated therewith, together with their subversive affiliation, set forth. Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF) annual Board meeting held 11/24-25/67 at Edwards, Mississippi; several MFDP leaders in attendance and SCEF board decided to endorse and support any MFDP challenge to obtain seats at Democratic National Convention to be held at Chicago, Illinois, in Summer, 1968. BAYARD RUSTIN, Negro male, former self-admitted Young Communist League member (1941) was guest speaker at Southern Regional Council-sponsored "Institute for Mississippi Negro Elected Officials" conducted at Jackson, Mississippi, 12/14-15/67. ROBERT EARL FLETCHER, JR., Student

~~CONFIDENTIAL - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~



Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) National Committee member who has been recent resident of Tougaloo, Mississippi, and who is SNCC photographer, traveled to Cuba 1/1/68, possibly to attend Cultural Congress held in Havana 1/4-11/68; passport issued was not valid for travel to Cuba. Subversive publications available at Freedom Information Service (FIS), Jackson, Mississippi, set forth.

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DETAILS:

This report covers the period November 1, 1967, through January 31, 1968.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY:

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS:

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

See Miscellaneous section.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS:

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The MFDP and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) continue to be the only legitimate civil rights organizations presently active within the State of Mississippi. AARON HENRY, Negro male, of Clarksdale, Mississippi, is the State President of the

Mississippi branch of the NAACP; and CHARLES EVERS, Negro male, of Fayette, Mississippi, is the Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary. There are 43 NAACP chapters throughout the State of Mississippi. LAWRENCE THOMAS GUYOT, JR., also known as Lawrence Guyot, Negro male, continues to be the Chairman of the MFDP and resides in Jackson, Mississippi. [redacted] is the [redacted] residing in Sunflower, Mississippi.

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(JN T-1) 1/29/68)

LAWRENCE GUYOT, Negro male, born July 17, 1939, at Pass Christian, Mississippi, was interviewed September 14, 1967, during the course of another FBI investigation, at which time he advised that the MFDP has forty County units in Mississippi. He said the MFDP has a seventeen-member State Executive Committee which is bi-racial, and MFDP headquarters are located at Sunflower, Mississippi. He estimated that 40,000 - 50,000 Negroes in Mississippi in some manner sympathize with, participate in, or actively support the MFDP. He said specific support varies with different issues which arise. He said the MFDP's purpose is to muster political power and encourage political participation by Negroes in Mississippi.

LAWRENCE GUYOT continues to reside with and closely associate with [redacted] born [redacted] They continue to share Apartment [redacted]

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[redacted] no longer has any formal affiliation with the MFDP and is currently employed as a secretary at the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC), 603 North Farish Street, Jackson, a lawyers' group which concentrates its efforts in defense of the Negro and minority elements in Mississippi.

(JN T-1) 1/29/68)

Noted

On February 6, 1956, [] was a member of the Rosenberg Teen-age Club Labor Youth League (LYL). Three or four months previous to this date [] was club educational director.
(JN T-2 2/6/56)

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The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

ANNUAL BOARD MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INCORPORATED (SCEF)

The annual Board meeting of the SCEF was held at the Mount Beulah Center, Edwards, Mississippi, commencing at 1:00 PM on November 24, 1967, and ending on the evening of November 25, 1967.

(JN T-3 12/4/67)

(JN T-4 11/27/67)

A characterization of the SCEF appears in the appendix of this report.

The general topic for the annual meeting was "Improving the South, American Racism, War and Poverty." A panel discussion concerning racism and poverty problems in the South was held November 24, 1967, as was a business session. Various related topics were discussed on November 25, 1967; and it was decided to support the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) in any bid they might make to obtain seating at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois, in the summer of 1968. Several MFDP representatives attended the Board meeting apparently to seek SCEF support for any bid to be made regarding Democratic National Convention in 1968.

(JN T-3 12/4/67)

(JN T-4 11/27/67)

Among those in attendance at the two-day Board meeting were:

CARL and ANNE BRADEN of Louisville, Kentucky;

WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH and MARY J. MELISH of Brooklyn, New York;

LAWRENCE GUYOT, MFDP Chairman, Jackson, Mississippi;



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VICTORIA GRAY, MFDP Executive Board member, of Hattiesburg, Mississippi;

FANNIE LOU HAMER, MFDP Executive Board member, of Ruleville, Mississippi.

(JN T-3 12/4/67)

(JN T-4 11/27/67)

CARL AND ANNE BRADEN

The masthead of the October, 1967, issue of The Southern Patriot, self-identified as the organ of the SCEF, reflects that CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN are respectively Executive Director and Associate Executive Director of the SCEF.

Mrs. ALBERTA ~~AHEARN~~, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court in a

JN 100-57

State sedition prosecution against ~~CARL~~ BRADEN identified BRADEN and his wife, ANNE, as having been known to her as members of the CP, Louisville, from January, 1951, until shortly prior to the time of her testimony.

WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

The October, 1967, issue of The Southern Patriot reflects that WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH is an assistant director of SCEF.

On April 16, 1965, WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship (NCASF).

(JN T-5 4/16/65)

The NCASF has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH upon leaving SCEF Board meeting at its conclusion on November 25, 1967, advised he planned to visit his son, [REDACTED] professor at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, prior to leaving Mississippi.

(JN T-4 11/27/67)

VICTORIA GRAY

A meeting sponsored in part by the Socialist Workers Party was held May 30, 1965, in the Masonic Temple, Harvard Avenue and Pine Street, Seattle, Washington. About 100 persons were in attendance, and a lecture was presented by VICTORIA GRAY of the MFD. This lecture by GRAY outlined the growth of the Negro's struggle in the South and should be called a quest for "first-class citizenship."

(JN T-6 6/2/65)

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JN 100-57

VICTORIA GRAY during her visit to Seattle during the last week of May, 1965, stayed at the home of [REDACTED]

(JN T-7 6/4/65)

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FANNIE LOU HAMER

A dinner sponsored by the "National Guardian" was held at 8:00 PM on February 5, 1966, at the Sylvania Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. FANNIE LOU HAMER of Mississippi gave a short speech at this dinner stating she represented the MFDP and wanted Negroes to join this party so Negroes would have a party of their own in Mississippi.

(JN T-9 2/11/66)

A characterization of the "National Guardian" appears in the appendix of this report.

FANNIE LOU HAMER spoke at the "National Guardian" dinner on November 5, 1965, at the Hotel Americana, New York, New York, and told of having testified before a subcommittee behind closed doors. HAMER said she had told this subcommittee that the "far left" is the only thing that was right in this country and that if the Communists want what her race wants in Mississippi, then she could see nothing wrong with the Communists.

(JN T-10 11/15/65)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
TO ORIENT NEGROES ELECTED TO PUBLIC OFFICE IN
MISSISSIPPI, CONDUCTED DECEMBER 14 - 15, 1967,
AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

The Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial group formed in the 1940's to seek improvement of economic, civic

and racial conditions in the South, conducted a voter education project under the title, "Institute for Mississippi Negro Elected Officials" at the Downtowner Motor Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi, on December 14 and 15, 1967. (The Southern Regional Council has its main office at Atlanta, Georgia.) The project was attended by twenty-two Negroes elected to various positions in local, county and State offices in Mississippi in November, 1967.

(JN T-1 12/14/67)

On the evening of December 14, 1967, BAYARD RUSTIN, Negro male, age 55, addressed the newly elected Negro officials at the project as well as numerous guests in attendance at a dinner held in conjunction with the project that evening. RUSTIN's speech was entitled, "An Overview of the Negro in the Political Process." He related in general that the Negro must look to the Democratic Party in 1968 despite the shape of the party regionally, that the Negro must have a national political outlook, that a "reactionary Congress" has failed to produce legislation and funds to solve domestic ills, and that the United States could fight the Vietnam war and still solve problems at home.

BAYARD RUSTIN is a civil rights activist who was director of a civil rights march on Washington, D. C., on August 28, 1963. He is presently Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. (JN T-1 12/15/67)

The New York Herald Tribune issue of August 14, 1963, page 7, column one, contains an article captioned, "Thurmond Assails a Leader of March." The article stated that in answer to charges by Senator STROM THURMOND, BAYARD RUSTIN admitted joining the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. RUSTIN also reportedly stated that he broke completely with the YCL in June, 1941, after the Nazi attack on Russia.

JN 100-57

The YCL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The Daily Worker issue of February 25, 1957, page one, column one, contained an article which stated that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Registers League, was one of eight non-Communist observers at the Communist Party National Convention in 1957.

The Daily Worker was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

TRAVEL OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) NATIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER FROM MISSISSIPPI TO CUBA, JANUARY 1, 1968

The SNCC has recently made a radical change from a peaceful civil rights organization to a militant Black Nationalist organization, motivated by a revolutionary direct-action philosophy which places no faith in normal and democratic procedures. Leaders of this group such as STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] have called for the overthrow of Capitalism and advocate guerilla warfare in United States cities.

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One ROBERT FLETCHER from Mississippi is a member of the National Central Committee of SNCC and is a Negro male who periodically visits SNCC National headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and assists in the preparation of the SNCC newsletter.

(JN T-11 6/8/67)

ROBERT EARL FLETCHER, JR., is a Negro male, age 29, who resides at Tougaloo, Mississippi, and who is a photographer for SNCC in Mississippi. FLETCHER travels throughout Mississippi, taking photographs of racial incidents, demonstrations, and Negro conditions. He is a personable individual who does not possess any leadership or organizational abilities. (JN T-1 10/27/67)

Robert Fletcher
ROBERT EARL FLETCHER, Negro male, born December 12, 1938, at Detroit, Michigan, under passport number H1342057 issued December 21, 1967, at New York, traveled on Cuban Aviation Company flight number 465 from Mexico City, Mexico, to Havana, Cuba, on January 1, 1968, destined for the Hotel Habana Libre. (A Cultural Congress was being held from January 4 through 11, 1968, at Havana, Cuba.) (JN T-12 1/3/68)

On January 12, 1968, [redacted] U. S. Department of State, Passport Office, advised that FLETCHER had not applied at the U. S. Department of State Adjudication Branch for validation of his passport for travel to Cuba.

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According to notice published in Federal Register on March 16, 1967, the passport, as obtained by FLETCHER, is valid for three years travel to all countries except Cuba, Mainland China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.

PUBLICATIONS

[redacted]
[redacted] civil rights activist in Mississippi for the past three years, is the present secretary and office manager of the Freedom Information Service (FIS). [redacted] resides at [redacted] and maintains an office for FIS at 900 North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

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JN 100-57

[] is the regional contact for the distribution of the Spartacist in Mississippi. Spartacist is received by [] at the FIS office and she also maintains a post office box at the post office at Tougaloo, Mississippi.
(JN T-13 1/26/68)

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Spartacist is a publication of the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI).

A characterization of the FCFI appears in the appendix of this report.

The FIS office is a literature-distribution office which promotes and conducts research regarding educational and political opportunities for Negroes. The FIS supports very closely the positions taken, programs initiated, and general policies of the MFDP.

(JN T-1 10/27/67)

Copies of the following newspapers have been recently observed at the FIS office:

- 1) The Worker
- 2) The National Guardian
- 3) The Militant

(JN T-13 1/26/68)

The Worker is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

A characterization of The National Guardian appears in the appendix of this report.

JN 100-57

The Militant is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIXSOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INCORPORATED

"The Southern Patriot", a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern People in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is

APPENDIX

SCEF (continued)

a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

Carl Braden and Anne Braden, Director and Associate Director respectively of the SCEF, were identified by Alberta Ahearn, 2311 Payne, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of Carl Braden under a state sedition statute, as members of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

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A third source advised on May 26, 1965, that [] [] a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for Carl and Anne Braden and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

- "1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

APPENDIXREVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 9, 1964, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. This source described the RCFI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who had split from the SWP and who were led by JAMES ROBERTSON. This source stated that this political unit has its main center in New York City where it publishes "Spartacist" on a very irregular basis, but their formal meetings are held at least once a week.

A second source advised on March 4, 1964, that FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the SWP, sent a letter to all SWP branches in February, 1964, in which he advised that the expelled leader of a minority faction of the SWP JAMES ROBERTSON, announced on February 10, 1964, that his faction would publicly criticize the SWP and had followed this with a public organ called "Spartacist" in which they attacked the SWP.

The November-December, 1965, issue of "Spartacist" in its masthead described this publication as follows: "...published bimonthly by supporters of the revolutionary tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party." This masthead sets forth that the editor of the publication is JAMES ROBERTSON, and its main address is Post Office Box 1377, General Post Office, New York, New York.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~APPENDIX

SPARTACIST LEAGUE

Formerly Known as
Revolutionary Committee of
the Fourth International

Source advised on September 7, 1966 that the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) also known as Spartacist, held a Founders Conference of the Spartacist League at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3 - 5, 1966.

Source advised on September 7, 1966 that on September 4, 1966 it was stated that the Spartacist League's objective was to destroy the capitalist system and the capitalist society and create a workers class system and a workers class society.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Jackson, Mississippi

February 8, 1968

Title

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
MATTERS (CIRM)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNISM

Reference Report of Special Agent Thomas
FitzPatrick at Jackson, Missis-
sippi, dated and captioned as
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/5/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/25/68-2/1/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA ALFRED L. ANDERSON	TYPED BY nlr
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA C. EDWIN GLASS, JR., dated 11/1/67
at Washington, D. C.

- P* -

INFORMANTSIdentity of SourceFile Where Located

✓ WF T-1 is

✓ WF T-2 is

Characterization - CARL BLOICE

✓ WF T-3 is

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - NISO, Washington, D. C. (By hand)
3 - WFO (100-43710) 333DEC 30 1970

Continued on Cover Page B

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.
Request Recd.	Request: ISD, CRD, RAO IDIU
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 2/27/68
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: [Signature]
By	BY: [Signature]

Notations

13 FEB 12 1968

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EX 110

62 FEB 28 1968

1 cc npt 806944

WFO 100-43710 .

- 1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Richmond (Info) (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)

B
COVER PAGE

WFO 100-43710

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" since information from all informants could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

CARL BLOICE mentioned in this report is included on the Security Index.

LEADS

BALTIMORE AND RICHMOND

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, AND RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. One copy of this report is being furnished to Baltimore and Richmond for information since those offices cover the CP District of which the CP of Washington, D. C., is a part.

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. Will follow this matter and submit quarterly reports on pertinent information.

C*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

- 1 - 116th MI Group, Washington, D. C. (By Hand)
- 1 - OSI, 4th District, BAFB, Washington, D. C.
(By Hand)
- 1 - NISO, Washington, D. C. (By Hand)

Report of:
Date:

ALFRED L. ANDERSON
February 5, 1968

Office: Washington, D. C.

Field Office File #:

100-43710

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title:

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

CP has no policy nor plans for influencing racial groups or racial activities in the Washington, D. C., area. CARL BLOICE stated in October, 1967, it is imperative the CP help the Black Community find Communism.

- P* -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party (CP)

The CP in Washington, D. C., because of a lack of leadership and organization, has no policy nor plans concerning racial matters in the Washington, D. C., area. There is a desire on the part of the CP to become involved, and CP headquarters mails out considerable literature on the topic, but there is no CP directed action in this area. Any

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.~~

WFO 100-43710

activity in connection with racial matters by individual CP members, and by people under CP influence has been on an individual basis and there is no CP policy or tactic aimed at controlling or dominating any racial group in this area.

(WF T-2, 1/15/68)

B. Other Communist Groups

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

The National CP, USA Negro Commission sponsored a conference in New York City on October 14-15, 1967, entitled "A Conference on the New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Rights." CARL BLOICE, of Washington, D. C., was in attendance at the conference and stated the black people believe the main question facing them today is the question of survival. He then went on to say that some people are coming to socialism by themselves and he wondered how many more would come if the CP should afford them some assistance. BLOICE stated the black people are finding Black Nationalism, Maoism, and everything else in the Black Community today, which makes it imperative the CP help them find Communism.

(WF T-1, 10/16/67)

CARL BLOICE is a current member of the CP National Executive Committee and the Washington, D. C., representative of the "Worker."

(WF T-2, 1/31/68)

The "Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

At the conference of the CP Negro Commission in New York City on October 14-15, 1967, BLOICE stated the CP should reject the third world concept, and secondly, should reject the analysis that the black ghettos are an internal colony. According to BLOICE the immediate questions are:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. Organization of the unorganized
2. Fight JIM CROW in the building trades
3. A shorter work week
4. A crash program to combat hunger and poverty
5. Attention to youth
6. A closer study of the freedom budget

(WF T-3, 10/16 and 19/67)

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No information developed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-43710

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535
February 5, 1968

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA ALFRED L. ANDERSON
dated and captioned as above at
Washington, D. C.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SEATTLE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/8/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/22/68 - 2/5/68
TITLE OF CASE CIRM		REPORT MADE BY LEONARD K. STILES	TYPED BY bgv
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

D. M. [signature]

REFERENCE: Report of SA LEONARD K. STILES, Seattle, 10/30/67.

- P* -

LEADS:

SEATTLE DIVISION
At Seattle, Washington

Will submit next quarterly report by May 1, 1967.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

A copy of this report is being sent to New York for information since that office is origin.

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because information furnished by SE T-1 through SE T-13, if disclosed, could conceivably result in the identification of informants

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None

APPROVED <i>[signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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REQUEST RECD.	DATE: [signature], RAO [signature]		
DATE FWD.	DATE FOR: 2/5/68		
HOW FWD.	HOW FOR: [signature]		
BY:	[signature]		

SE 100-27267

of continuing value, compromise future effectiveness thereof, and adversely affect the national security.

All persons named in this report as members of any basic revolutionary organization and who reside within the area covered by the Seattle Division, are listed in the Security Index or are informants or sources.

INFORMANTS

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
✓ SE T-1 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-2 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-3 is [redacted]	[redacted]
Characterization of [redacted]	
✓ SE T-4 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-5 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-6 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-7 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-8 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SE T-9 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-10 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-11 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-12 is [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ SE T-13 is [redacted]	[redacted]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - NISO, Seattle (REG)
- 1 - Region III, 115th MIG (REG)
- 1 - OSI, McChord AFB (REG)

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:

LEONARD K. STILES
February 8, 1968

Office: Seattle, Washington

Field Office File No.:

100-27267

Bureau File No.: 100-442529

Title:

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

[REDACTED] Seattle, Washington, attended conference sponsored by National Communist Party (CP) Negro Commission in New York City, 10/14-15/67. Olympia CP trying to unite peace organizations and Black Power; also build a new "Black Power base in King and Pierce Counties." Ballard-Greenwood CP Club seeking Negroes for CP activities. East Madison-Waterfront CP Club assisted in raising funds to send delegates to Western Regional Black Power Youth Conference (WRBPYC) in Los Angeles, California, 11/25/67. Statements made to CP Clubs as to report by [REDACTED] on WRBPYC. CP policy statement expresses aim of alliance between black freedom forces and the white working class. Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Seattle, raised funds for WRBPYC. [REDACTED] joined Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), 10/25/67. [REDACTED] to represent CP at CORE activities. At CP Christmas Bazaar, 1967, CORE and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee had booths. At CORE meeting 12/21/67, [REDACTED] elected as Secretary. At Negro Voters League (NVL) meeting, 11/4/67, [REDACTED] was Discussion Leader, and funds were solicited for WRBPYC.

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- P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DETAILS:

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), USA

1. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at national meetings, including expressions by national leaders and other functionaries.

On October 14 and 15, 1967, the National Communist Party (CP), USA, Negro Commission, sponsored a conference captioned, "A Conference on the New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Rights." This conference was held in the Imperial Room of the Hotel Victoria Abbey, 51st Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, and was listed on the hotel bulletin board under the name of "Social Workers Seminar."

It is estimated that at the beginning of the morning sessions on October 14, 1967, approximately 68 persons were in attendance including [redacted] from Seattle, Washington.

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SE T-1 (10/16/67)
SE T-2 (10/16/67)

SE T-3 advised that as of January, 1968,
[redacted] was a CP member.

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2. Plans, et cetera, made at District and lower-level meetings, including expressions by local leaders and rank-and-file members.

At a meeting of the Olympia CP Club held at 407 North Percival, Olympia, Washington, on October 6, 1967, FRED GABOURY, Club Chairman, stated that the CP leadership is going to try and get all of the different peace organizations into one big class movement. This movement, he said, will also include the Black Power.

SE T-4 (10/23/67)
SE T-5 (10/23/67)

The Section Committee of the CP of Southwest Washington held a meeting at 407 North Percival, Olympia, on October 14, 1967. At this meeting, it was pointed out that the CP is going to concentrate on working with "Black Power" and youth; also build a new "Black Power base in King and Pierce Counties."

SE T-5 (10/23/67)

SE 100-27267

The Ballard-Greenwood CP Club held a meeting November 14, 1967, at 6717 Sycamore Avenue Northwest, Seattle. At this meeting, it was discussed how important it is that Negroes be asked to participate more actively in CP activities. It was pointed out that CP members should seek their opinions and ideas in an effort to bring them into the Party.

SE T-6 (11/27/67)

The East Madison-Waterfront CP Club held a meeting November 22, 1967, at 1726 19th Avenue, Seattle. [redacted] a member, gave a resume of the fund-raising drive which was spearheaded by [redacted]. This drive was to raise enough money to charter a bus for delegates to the Western Regional Black Power Youth Conference (WRBPYC), in Los Angeles, California, November 25, 1967. [redacted] said that the subject, in raising the funds, had shown the people of the Central Area (Negro or ghetto area), the power and driving force of the CP.

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SE T-7 (12/6/67)

The East Madison-Waterfront CP Club held a meeting December 6, 1967, at 1726 19th Avenue, Seattle.

VIVIAN GEORGE, a member, reported that [redacted] gave a report to the CP District Committee during the first week in December, 1968, on the recent WRBPYC held in Los Angeles, California.

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SE T-7 (12/22/67)

The White Center CP Club held a meeting at 123 Bellevue Avenue East, Seattle, on December 12, 1967. PAUL EMERSON, a member, reported on the CP District Committee meeting which was held during the first week of December, 1967, and at which [redacted] gave a report on the WRBPYC. LINDA had been asked how the youth were able to travel to Los Angeles, and she had explained that \$1,500 had been raised to charter a bus. She said the group were fed and housed after they got to Los Angeles.

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SE T-8 (12/22/67)

A source made available a Mimeographed statement of CP strategy in industry which made references to Negro workers. Quotes from this Mimeographed sheet entitled, "Toward Shaping and Sustaining an Industrial Concentration Policy; Report to open a Party-wide examination of the question, December, 1967,"

are as follows:

"Our overall goal is to build the strategic alliance between the Black freedom forces and the white working class. This alliance will not develop spontaneously. It must be consciously built. Our Party is the most conscious force in the field building this alliance. We cannot be serious about the strategic alliance--we are playing with revolutionary phrases--unless we shape and sustain an industrial concentration policy.

"There are two principal sides to the building of the strategic alliance. One is to work within the Black freedom movement so as to help bring Black workers into its leadership, to give it a strong class orientation. The other is to work within the white working class to combat and overcome the racism and chauvinism that is the chief ideological obstacle to the alliance. We cannot work effectively on either side of this struggle without shaping and sustaining an industrial concentration policy...

"Take the press as one instance of the need for the entire Party to be involved in concentration. When we see our Press as educator, organizer, agitator, mover of the people, we see that it cannot do its many-sided job unless it is rooted in the basic sections of the working class--the biggest shops, the key local unions, the decisive industries. If the whole Party understands this, it will shape the nature of press building in the most fruitful way. In the weeks just ahead we are going to examine the future of our Press. Whatever the final decision, whatever the final shape of our newspaper in Washington state, it will not do the job unless two out of three of its readers are members of trade union families, Black and White. The whole Party will have to see clearly the need to base the press among the workers. Such a base will greatly strengthen our ties in industry, and will be vital in making our concentration policy operative...

"(5) Black workers: Urgent attention is imperative. Here is the focal point at which we either build or do not build the strategic alliance. We need to develop hundreds of ties between Communists and Black workers. We need to recruit Black workers into the Party. Simultaneously, we need to develop and sustain a bold, stubborn campaign against racism and chauvinism within the white working class. Here we begin from a stance of confidence in our class. The fight against racism in the working class can be won because racism runs counter to the deepest interests of the white workers. But we need to link this confidence in the class with a clear-sighted recognition of the seriousness of the danger.

"But to return to the Black workers: There are serious anti-union trends among Black militants. These trends have as their basic source the prevalence of racist ideology in the white working class. These anti-union trends work directly counter to the building of the strategic alliance. We cannot permit them to go unchallenged.

"Our work around the Herbert Hill meetings proved we can move on this question. Yet we must characterize that work as reacting to a danger, counter-punching. For want of a concentration policy, that good work has not been followed up. As a result, the Negro Labor Council was more or less stillborn, its promise unrealized. And the problem is arising in an even sharper form, with the possibility of Tanner running for governor on a "right to work" platform.

"How can we help guarantee that a sustained fight is made against these anti-union trends within the Black community? Basically, what is needed is an organization of Black workers, Black union members, Black men and women who look at freedom from a class viewpoint.

"Therefore we must begin with practical steps to establish an NALC chapter in this area. If for one reason or another this is not the correct approach, an alternative must be found. The content of our policy must be to help establish an organization of Black workers.

"(6) Other minorities: We need to develop ties with the Spanish-speaking and Indian workers. There are avenues here toward the organization of agricultural workers. We have seen in California and Texas the impact such organization can have on the rest of labor. A new seriousness to our efforts to rally support to the grape strikers is a vital first step. (Parenthetically, we need an accurate estimate of where the unorganized blocs of workers are; which are most decisive to organize; and what present and potential connections we have with them)."

SE T-9. (12/29/67)

B. OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

1. Freedom Socialist Party of Washington (FSP)

FSP is characterized in appendix.

- a. Plans, et cetera, made at District and lower-level meetings include expressions by local leaders and rank-and-file members.

On November 11, 1967, the FSP held a meeting at 3815 Fifth Northeast, Seattle. A fund-raising party was planned for Saturday, November 18, 1967, to raise money for young students to attend the WRBYC being held November 25, 1967, at Los Angeles, California.

SE T-10 (11/18/67)

On November 21, 1967, [] a member of the FSP, organized a telephone-calling program to raise money for sending persons to the WRBYC.

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SE T-11 (12/21/67)

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A.. CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

CORE is a civil rights organization of national scope.

At a CORE membership meeting held October 25, 1967, at the East Side YMCA, 23rd and East Olive Street, Seattle, [] became a new member.

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SE T-12 (10/30/67)

At a meeting of the White Center CP Club held October 29, 1967, at 1019 South Washington Street, Seattle, MARION KINNEY, CP member and guest speaker, stated that [] will represent the CP at CORE activities.

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b7C

SE T-8 (11/3/67)

At the Christmas Bazaar sponsored by the CP, open to the public, and held at the Washington Hall, Seattle, December 9, 1967, both CORE and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had booths.

SE T-13 (12/19/67)

SNCC is a militant civil rights organization of national scope.

At a CORE meeting held December 21, 1967, at the YMCA, 23rd and East Olive Street, Seattle, [] was elected Secretary.

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b7C

SE T-12 (1/3/68)

SE 100-27267

B. NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE (NVL)

NVL is a civil rights organization to promote Negro voter registration and use of the Negro vote in Seattle, Washington.

At a NVL fund-raising dinner held at the Cherry Hill Baptist Church, 22nd and East Cherry Street, Seattle, on November 4, 1967, [] was one of the discussion leaders. At this meeting, a collection of money was taken to be used for sending young people from Seattle to the WRBYC to be held in Los Angeles, California.

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b7C

SE T-12 (11/9/67)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1APPENDIXFREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON, aka
Freedom Socialist Party (FSP)

In April, 1966, a source advised that the members of the Seattle Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), executed a statement of resignation from the National SWP, dated April 9, 1966, following which they referred to themselves as the Seattle Branch, SWP (Unaffiliated), and temporarily adopted the name Freedom Socialist Party of Washington, aka Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). The group led by RICHARD FRASER, aka Dick Fraser, Richard Kirk, Dick Kirk, formerly a member of the SWP National Committee, and his wife, CLARA FRASER, aka Clara Kaye, Organizer of the Seattle Branch, SWP, were known as the KIRK-KAYE Tendency. Their disagreement with the National SWP was over the questions of the Negro struggle, the colonial revolution, the Vietnamese War, regroupment, women's emancipation, and party organizational principles.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In July, 1966, this source advised that the above group and others held a convention on July 9, 1966, at their headquarters, Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington, having issued a call to "all-signers of the FSP Nominating Petition at the 1964 Nominating Convention and all revolutionary socialists who wished to help build the FSP."

In October, 1964, a second source advised that the name Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of the State of Washington was used by the Seattle Branch, SWP, in its then current political campaign.

The first source further advised that at the convention on July 9, 1966, the group adopted the name FSP of Washington, and became a membership organization.

In August, 1966, the first source furnished the August 5, 1966, issue of "The Freedom Socialist", self-described as the "Voice of the FSP of Washington." This publication states, "We are a new revolutionary socialism organization," stating that it is comprised of the former Seattle Branch, SWP, "individual independent radicals who were part of the 1964 united socialist electoral coalition which created the FSP," and "A new segment of radical youth who have recently adopted Marxism as their political philosophy."

On February 20, 1967, a third source advised that the current officers of the FSP were elected at a meeting of the FSP on February 5, 1967, and that [redacted] became the Organizer at this meeting.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington

February 8, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. SE 100-27267

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA LEONARD K. STILES dated and captioned as above at Seattle, Washington.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Date 2/29/68

To: ☒ Director



Bufile 100-442529
SE 100-27267

Att.: _____ Title _____
☐ SAC _____
☐ ASAC _____ CIRM
☐ Supv. _____ IS - C
☐ Agent _____
☐ SE _____
☐ IC _____ RE: Your R/S 2/27/68,
☐ CC _____ attached.
☐ Steno _____
☐ Clerk _____ ☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Open Case |
| ☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____ | ☐ Prepare lead cards |
| ☐ Bring file | ☐ Prepare tickler |
| ☐ Call me | ☐ Recharge serials |
| ☐ Correct | ☐ Return assignment card |
| ☐ Deadline _____ | ☐ Return file |
| ☐ Deadline passed | ☐ Return serials |
| ☐ Delinquent | ☐ Search and return |
| ☐ Discontinue | ☐ See me |
| ☐ Expedite | ☐ Send Serials _____ |
| ☐ File | to _____ |
| ☐ For information | ☐ Submit new charge out |
| ☐ Handle | ☐ Submit report by _____ |
| ☐ Initial & return | ☐ Type |
| ☐ Leads need attention | |
| ☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken. | |

SE T-9 was inadvertently omitted by steno. Attached are 9 copies of corrected page 5. Seattle copies being corrected.

ENCLOSURE
REG.

SAC

J. M. MILNES

Office

SEATTLE

See reverse side

ALUN2 MAR 7-1968

TO: SAC,

☐ Albany	☐ Houston	☐ Norfolk	☐ Tampa
☐ Albuquerque	☐ Indianapolis	☐ Oklahoma City	☐ Washington Field
☐ Anchorage	☐ Jackson	☐ Omaha	☐ Quantico
☐ Atlanta	☐ Jacksonville	☐ Philadelphia	
☐ Baltimore	☐ Kansas City	☐ Phoenix	
☐ Birmingham	☐ Knoxville	☐ Pittsburgh	
☐ Boston	☐ Las Vegas	☐ Portland	
☐ Buffalo	☐ Little Rock	☐ Richmond	
☐ Butte	☐ Los Angeles	☐ Sacramento	
☐ Charlotte	☐ Louisville	☐ St. Louis	
☐ Chicago	☐ Memphis	☐ Salt Lake City	
☐ Cincinnati	☐ Miami	☐ San Antonio	
☐ Cleveland	☐ Milwaukee	☐ San Diego	
☐ Columbia	☐ Minneapolis	☐ San Francisco	
☐ Dallas	☐ Mobile	☐ San Juan	
☐ Denver	☐ Newark	☐ Savannah	
☐ Detroit	☐ New Haven	☒ Seattle	
☐ El Paso	☐ New Orleans	☐ Springfield	
☐ Honolulu	☐ New York City		

TO LEGAT:

☐ Bern
☐ Bonn
☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Hong Kong
☐ London
☐ Manila
☐ Mexico, D.F.
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Santo Domingo
☐ Tokyo

Date 2/27/68

RE: CIRM
IS - C

☐ For information ☐ Retention optional ☒ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by _____

☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.

☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks: Rerep of SA LEONARD K. STILES dated 2/8/68.

Unable to locate T-9 in the details of report. Advise. Expedite--dissemination being held in abeyance.

100-27247-

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 28 1968	
FBI - SEATTLE	

Enc.

Bufile 100-442529
Urfile 100-27267

MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C
(OO: NY)

DATE: 2/7/68

Scotman
D. M. Andrews

There are enclosed for the Bureau nine copies of a LHM containing information furnished by [REDACTED] concerning the distribution of a flyer by the Harlem Section of the CP of New York State, directed at getting Negro and Puerto Rican workers employed on the construction of a New York State Office Building in the Harlem area of New York City.

b6
b7C
b7D

This LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information from [REDACTED] the unauthorized disclosure of which could be detrimental to the defense interests of the United States, and result in the loss of a source of great value.

b6
b7C
b7DAGENCY: ACSI, ~~OM~~, OSI; SEC. SER:DET: ISD, CRD, RAO *IOIU*DATE FORW: *2/16/68*HOW FORW: *RS*BY: *Onw/ ei**icc let + LHM 906970*

9 ENCLOSURE

REC-41

EX-105

5 FEB 12 1968

- 2 - Bureau (100-442529) (Encls. 9) (RM)
1 - New York [REDACTED] (INV) (45)
1 - New York (100-153735) (41)

b3
b7D
b7EJFO:gmd
(5)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 FEB 21 1968



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
February 7, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-442529

Re: Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on February 6, 1968, furnished a copy of a flyer issued by the Harlem Section of the Communist Party (CP) of New York State, which concerns the construction of the new New York State Office Building in the Harlem area of New York City. The flyer is captioned, "Brothers and Sisters of Harlem! Our men, our sons need jobs. They need good jobs at good pay - NOW!" It asks how many Black and Puerto Rican workers from Harlem will be employed at union wages on this construction. It demands that the millions to be spent on this construction be kept in Harlem and urges all Harlem organizations to "get together, set up a joint council, and make their demands known".

The flyer also states that, "The people of Harlem must have the right to decide on all plans to rebuild Harlem" and that "All work on the State Office Building will be stopped unless a substantial share of jobs go to Negro and Puerto Rican workers living in Harlem---". It also states that construction work should not be permitted to continue without a guarantee of jobs for Harlem workers.

The bottom of the flyer contains a perforated section where the recipient can indicate that he would like more information about the construction project, would be interested in working on or getting training for the project, or would like more information about the CP.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

COPIES DESTROYED

333DEC 30 1970

100-442529-

2496

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

The reverse side of the flyer contains the same information in Spanish.

According to the source, 25,000 of these flyers are to be distributed throughout Harlem.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~